THE NEW REPUBLIC

Engagement in Saigon

Three days after a squadron operations officer of the South Vietnam Air Force dropped a [illegible] load of napalm bombs earmarked for Communist guerrillas on the Presidential palace in Saigon, the US aircraft carrier Bretonne *pulled into harbor with 25 new T-28 fighter planes for Ngo Dinh Diem. The Pentagon pipeline to Saigon pours out a flow of men and materiel that has swollen over the past year in inverse proportion to the staying power of the regime. Last May, the first 100 US advisers trained for guerrilla warfare under the new Army Special Forces program joined the US Military Assistance Advisory Group with unprecedented instructions to go out on jungle patrols with Vietnamese Raiders. In mid-November, three combat helicopter companies turned up in Saigon to man 40 freshly-supplied helicopters which would ferry Vietnamese forces to the scene of guerrilla raids. By February 8, the MAAG mission had been superseded by a new operational Military Assistance Command headed by a four-star American General responsible directly to the Commander-in-Chief for the Pacific and to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Most of the 4,000 US servicemen in Vietnam – the number is due to reach 7,000 by summer – have been assigned to maintenance and logistical support duties. But the President has acknowledged that an undisclosed number going out on patrols have been instructed "if they are fired upon, to . . . fire back to protect themselves"; and US helicopter crewmen, one is told, are to provide covering fire from the helicopter door. "The United States does not have any combat infantry troops in Vietnam as of now," reported Homer Bigart in* The New York Times *on February 24, "but we are getting ready for that possibility. Marine Corps officers have completed ground reconnaissance in the central Vietnam highlands – a potential* (Continued on page 3)

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Riding High

★ The Gallup Poll gives Kennedy an extraordinary 82 percent "over-all favorable" rating; West Coast newspapers in October quoted "sources close to Nixon" (later identified by *Editor & Publisher* as Nixon himself) as saying Kennedy will be unbeatable in 1964; even the surliest GOP newspapers momentarily can't find much to denounce. Okay then; this is a good time to enter some caveats.

We don't think Kennedy's recovery program is anywhere near drastic enough to solve unemployment or achieve full national growth; we won't be surprised to see the country faltering into a "Kennedy recession" in a year or two; maybe just before 1964.

We dislike the way the Administration paid off a political debt to Gov. Pat Brown by driving a horse and buggy through the 160-acre (family farm) limitation clause of the Reclamation Act, and the public power preference clause in the San Luis reservoir project.

And we don't like Interior Secretary Udall's cozy agreement with the private utilities for power transmission in the 5-state Colorado River storage project. It will cause trouble yet; you'll see.

We think the Administration did a sloppy job in failing to line up votes for its Urban Affairs Department plan and we don't like the way Kennedy legislative leaders always seem to go into a battle conceding defeat.

We have reservations about whether Bobby Kennedy really understands civil liberties in hunting down Communists and Jimmy Hoffa; we think fining a Communist $10,000 or putting him five years in prison for applying for a passport is outrageous, and we think Bobby ought to tell his brother to pardon Junius Scales (in prison 6 years under the Smith Act though he denounces Communism) just to show he isn't a captive of J. Edgar Hoover and the Birchers.

On foreign affairs, everybody now concedes the Cuban invasion was awful so we won't go over *that* again. But it's almost as unrealistic today, we think, to make believe that starving out Castro in Cuba is going to end Castroism in Latin America – the Reds are aching for a martyr. And in the long run Kennedy's inherited Far East policy is just as unrealistic as Cuba, too, but he hasn't even begun to explain this to the public.

Let's see – oh, fallout shelters: Kennedy airily committed himself to a shelter-building policy, we feel, and has been threshing around for a program ever since.

And again, this idea of letting AT&T and the other Wall Street moguls buy into the proposed US communications satellite – where does the Administration get such notions! Thank goodness Kefauver, Morse and others are opposing this private pie-in-the-sky plan.

Well, those are some of our immediate gripes about the Administration.

Economic Myths

★ We love to curl ourselves up with the *Wall Street Journal*, or the *Reader's Digest*, maybe, and find out how we must outlaw trade unions and repeal social security because the nation can't afford prosperity. It will mean draining away all our gold abroad, you see. Conservative writers keep appealing to what the general public knows about economics. And most of the things they know about economics aren't so.

– That price stability is "normal," for example. Nonsense. In 60 years, 1897-1958, US prices had an average annual rise of 2 1/3 percent (about the same rate in the first 30 years as the second).

– That America has more inflation than other countries. Wrong. The First National City Bank (NY) last year calculated the index depreciation of currencies in 43 nations, 1950-60. Only seven nations were more stable than the US; our average was only 2.1 percent a year, Bolivia's – 37.6 percent.

– That government deficits are always bad and creeping inflation always leads to galloping inflation. This is silly. Actually, a Treasury deficit is about the best way to head off a slump; there is fear here now that Kennedy is trying too hard to balance the budget.

– That prices fall in a recession. They don't. Living costs rose in the last three.

– That inflation is "always" bad. This point certainly is the most controversial. Inflation is bad for people on fixed incomes or pensions. But, heretical though it sounds, most people are probably not much affected – or better off – in a mild inflation provided living standards rise faster than costs. As Sumner Slichter used to say, "We are often compelled to choose between evils and if the choice is (a) enough unemployment to halt the rise in labor costs, (b) direct controls of wages and prices, and (c) creeping inflation, let us by all means have creeping inflation. It is the least of the three evils."

NLRB's New Look

★ Two Kennedy appointees have diluted the conservative bias of the 5-man National Labor Relations Board, a typical regulatory agency. The liberal new chairman, Frank McCulloch, recently pointed out that the Supreme Court reversed five out of six decisions reaching it from the all-Eisenhower NLRB in the 1959-60 term; and five out of nine (one split) in the 1960-61 term. The courts had "repudiated" the Board, McCulloch said, and it must now try to get back to the original meaning of the Wagner Act.

Notes

★ For three years the public schools of Price Edward County, Va., have been closed over desegregation, about 1,700 Negroes have been left without public schooling. This incredible situation is right in the heart of America, and yet how many news stories do you read about it? . . . National GOP leaders, dissatisfied with the "Ev-Charlie show," are groping toward establishment of a Republican Advisory Council to give their party a national voice; they aren't going to call it that, however, it would sound too much like the late Paul Butler's successful Democratic Advisory Council.

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Engagement in Saigon

theater of large-scale action between American troops and Communist forces coming down from the north . . . across the 17th Parallel." As "Z" relates in his angry account from Saigon in our pages this week, the deepening engagement of US prestige and power in South Vietnam, militarily speaking, has been accompanied by a humiliating political disengagement. The US has "capitulated" to Diem and has bound itself to the defense of a client regime without exacting on its part the sacrifices necessary for success. The missions of economist Eugene Staley and of Presidential adviser Maxwell Taylor have not led to reform in the critical areas of fiscal and tax policy, or to restraints on the powerful palace guard, notably Diem's sister, Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu, who controls, among other things, most licensing of local and foreign commercial enterprises. Talk in Washington of pressuring Diem to release some of the unnumbered thousands of anti-Communist political prisoners and to reshuffle his regime with its heavy disproportion of Catholic refugees from the north has given way to studied apologies for Diem.

With the exception of the northern refugees, the Saigon elite is almost entirely disaffected from the government. The fact that French-educated professional and intellectual groups are growing more and more openly anti-American, though it holds great significance for the future, is less dangerous at the moment than the widespread antipathy within the military. The attempted *coup* of three paratroop battalions in November, 1960, and the bombing raid on the palace last week, are not the acts of isolated malcontents. Although the operations officer who instigated the unsuccessful attempt on the lives of the Diem family last week was shot down and has not been contacted in prison by Western journalists, his accomplice escaped to neighboring Cambodia, where he was quoted as saying that while Diem himself may be "well intentioned . . . his family and supporters are hated by the Army and the population." In an effort to keep control of a restive Army, Diem operates through his own man on the General Staff, Brigadier General Nguyen Khanh, who free-wheels independently of local area commanders and acts on Presidential orders without regard to Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Le Ven Ty and the regular chain of command.

Some have speculated that the upgrading of the US military aid mission to a full-fledged defense command was intended to pave the way for an unacknowledged alliance between the US and Vietnamese military, who would, it is said, bypass Diem and wield effective power in the country. But one can find no evidence on the record or through conversations in Washington to fortify confidence

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that such a clear and purposeful US policy is operating in Saigon. On the contrary, the US appears to have less leverage than ever in its relationship with Diem. American lives are to be risked in a holding action based on the inexplicable hope that with sharpened-up counter-guerrilla operations and marginal reforms the regime will last. The appointment of General Paul Harkins and the establishment of a defense command was apparently the idea of the Pentagon, which wanted an operational command structure to correspond with its new operational duties. The State Department did not make much of an issue of the diplomatic ramifications of this step in the three-cornered relationship between Washington, Peking and Moscow (and tangentially, New Delhi, which presides over the International Control Commission in Saigon), or of the aid and comfort which would be given to the Communist-led guerrillas by a white Western military presence made much more spectacularly evident in the rice paddies and villages. Significantly, the man to see on Vietnam policy in Saigon is General Harkins, not Ambassador Frederick Nolting; and in Washington, it is Sterling Cottrell, head of the concerned interdepartmental Task Force, who is a civilian but comes to his present responsibility from the staff of the Commander-in-Chief for the Pacific.

If the Harkins appointment and the enlargement of US participation in field operations could reasonably be expected to strengthen the US bargaining position in future negotiations on Vietnam, they might have some apparent justification. Actually, the US appears to be abetting the very forces inside Communist ranks most opposed to any accommodation permitting the indefinite existence of a divided Vietnam.

The 11-member Politburo of the Lao Dong Dang (Workers Party) in North Vietnam seems sharply split on the tactics to be followed in South Vietnam and has been the focus of intensifying Sino-Soviet rivalry. Although Ho Chi Minh and the principal functionaries of the North Vietnam government are said to lean in Moscow's direction, the Party has a militant pro-Chinese wing led by Truong Chinh (an adopted name, literally meaning "Long March" to dramatize his identification with Peking) which normally claims the support of the chief of the political directorate of the armed forces, Nguyen Chi Thanh, and at times of a balance of power figure, Party Secretary Le Duan, who is a native of South Vietnam and directs the guerrilla offensive. In the opinion of intelligence analysts in several non-Communist governments, it is the militants, with their argument that "peaceful coexistence" runs counter to Asian Communist interests, who are vindicated when Marine reconnaissance missions appear on the central Vietnam highlands.

The belief that Moscow is concerned lest Ho Chi Minh might be compelled by intra-party pressures to line up with China and to intensify support for guerrilla operations in the South gained credence when a high-level delegation of the Soviet Communist Party arrived in Hanoi last week. The delegation leader, B. P. Ponomarev, chairman of the international department of the Central Committee secretariat, found a way to speak of the "peaceful liberation" of South Vietnam in at least three of his public pronouncements; the Chinese, on the other hand, were assailing "armed US imperialist intervention and aggression in Southern Vietnam." Commenting on the Soviet mission, the Vatican organ *Osservatore Romano* pointed to the critical place of the North Vietnam Party within international Communism and underscored the view of "some observers . . . that Peking will use South Vietnam to force Moscow into using different tactics in its relations with the West."

The explosive potential of the US engagement in Saigon has greatly increased in recent weeks and with it the necessity for a redefinition of objectives. Indirectly, Secretary of State Rusk gave assurance that the US had no intention of moving north of the 17th Parallel at his news conference on March 1. But the demand for an offensive against North Vietnam by the Pacific Naval Commander, Admiral Harry D. Felt, and the well-known sympathy of some in the State Department for counter-guerrilla raids across the border have left doubts about how our policy will evolve.

Those who announce heroically that in 10 years the US can restore stability to South Vietnam forget that the "active sanctuary" available to the guerrillas in the North exposes Saigon in a manner quite without precedent in the Malayan, Greek and Filipino cases. Though there may be places in the world where the new counter-guerrilla squads now in training can be profitably fielded, Vietnam is not one of them, for the North can literally carry on the war forever. The alternatives before the US appear to be general war involving China, a last-ditch stand in Saigon ending in Communist encirclement, or an active diplomatic effort to couple a settlement in Laos with some form of international guarantee for a neutralized South Vietnam.

Testing—Carrot and Stick

In telling the American people why he had decided to resume nuclear testing next month President Kennedy made it clear that he was acting with the utmost reluctance. Without access to the data and advice available to him, it is impossible to challenge the technical judgments upon which he relied. But it does not seem to us that the President explained convincingly why the scientific facts make testing imperative at this time. To

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the Russians he offered a stick and a carrot. Never again, the President said, will the United States accept an uninspected moratorium. That was the stick. At the same time, he indicated his willingness to meet with Mr. Khrushchev at Geneva "to sign the final pact" banning all nuclear tests, if that pact provides effective inspection and control. In this event, US tests would be called off. Here was the carrot, or, as interpreted in Moscow, the ultimatum.

While Mr. Kennedy implied that the draft treaty to be presented by the US at Geneva would differ from previous US proposals he did not suggest what changes he has in mind; simply that it would contain "new modifications . . . in the light of new experience"; that is, in contrast to an "uninspected" moratorium, it would prevent the possibility of secret preparations by the Soviets in violation of an agreement. However, no inspection system as far as we know has even been conceived, let alone evaluated or perfected, which could prevent a country from preparing to violate a test ban treaty, or any other arms control agreement. Indeed, within 48 hours after the President's speech, the Advanced Research Projects Agency of the Defense Department announced that the difficulties of detecting underground blasts are even greater than was supposed six months ago and that, as John W. Finney reported in *The New York Times* on March 5, "the seismic research program has yet to turn up any possible solution for this principal technical problem." What we do know is that any system that met the President's stringent standards would require far more inspection and prying into government deliberations than either we or the Soviets are prepared to accept.

The lesson of the test moratorium fiasco is not that we need international rather than unilateral inspection, but that we have greatly exaggerated the problem of inspection and virtually ignored the problems of sanctions – how the Soviets can be compelled to observe an agreement, and what can be done if they violate it.

The President told us that he has carefully explored the possibility of retaining a stand-by readiness to test, and had concluded that it was impossible for the United States to do so. If this is so, if the scientific-military judgment that another Soviet series in the absence of further US testing "might alter the balance of power," then the President came to the wrong conclusion. For if this is the case, we should promptly resume testing and refuse to sign any agreements, rather than announce our willingness to call off the tests that are in preparation as soon as a treaty is signed. The reason is that no agreements which we might sign in Geneva can begin to monitor all nuclear tests or preparations for tests until several years from now, long after the Soviets could have carried out the very test series which the President warned would be so dangerous to our security. And if this is not the case, then why is a moratorium on atmospheric tests which is self-monitoring and requires no international inspection less acceptable than a test ban treaty?

"What's the alternative?" the President is said to have asked his science adviser, Jerome Weisner. There were two alternatives: One, to say that our security requires further testing, treaty or no treaty; the other, to state frankly what risks we run by continuing the present pause, to accept those risks in the light of the larger risks of an accelerating nuclear arms race, and to announce a new effort to negotiate political settlements with Russia that would enable both sides to discuss disarmament with some serious prospect of success.

Facts on Fallout

And what about fallout? For the past several months, the Public Health Service has been reporting that radiation levels in the US have been going down and down. This is true, but it is not the whole story. PHS's latest statement mentioned in passing that due to atmospheric conditions and the concentrated nature of the latest Soviet tests, fallout of Strontium-90 and Strontium-89 would be "somewhat higher" in the US this spring than in the period after the 1956-58 tests by the US, UK and Russia, a time of very heavy testing. Based on the 1959 maximum intake in the US from all sources, this means that, starting in April or May, many Americans, especially children, will ingest more than 40 to 50 micromicrocuries of Strontium-90 daily.

PHS says these levels still will be only about one-fourth of the safe annual level for cancer-producing Strontium-90, but that estimate is based on fallout from the recent Soviet tests alone; it does not include future US and UK atmospheric testing. Nor does it take into account the fact that radiation deposits in bone and tissue are cumulative. As of 1958, when the test moratorium began, PHS and the Atomic Energy Commission estimated that Americans had been exposed to three to 10 percent of the yearly maximum safe radiation dose for large population groups. This percentage will now start to go up, adding to the genetic and somatic damage already done.

It Happened in El Segundo

When that eminent authority on what's what and who's who in the political hierarchy, Mr. Richard Rovere, wrote in *The American Scholar* some months back that *The New Republic* was "coming up" and was on the verge of being recognized as a respectable member of "the Establishment," the editors of this

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journal, in fear and trembling, asked themselves whether the time for prayer and fasting had not come. Had we gone soft?

We have been reassured. In El Segundo, California, last September, Superintendent of Schools Warren F. MacQueen recommended to his school board that *The New Republic* and *The Reporter* be banned from the classrooms. Six social science teachers objected and sought a clarification of the ruling by the school board. Last week, the board met and unanimously backed up Superintendent MacQueen. The only approved magazines are *Time* and *Newsweek*. *The New Republic* may not darken the high school classroom door, though it may be read in the library by special permission.

Satellite Ownership

"One of the most practical examples of our growing space competence," said President Kennedy three weeks before Lt.-Col. John Glenn orbited the earth, "is in the field of communications . . . we are now certain of the technical feasibility of transmitting messages to any part of the world." Along with this statement went a draft of the Administration's proposed legislation on communications satellites to the Senate and the House.

The promise of the new system is that transoceanic telephone service may become inexpensive enough for common use and that radio and TV programs generated at a single point may be seen and heard in all countries. However, the Administration's bill is based on an explicit policy that communication "by nature is essentially private enterprise in character." That policy is now being disputed with so much heat in the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee there is some doubt whether any bill will be passed.

Sen. Robert S. Kerr, the chairman of the committee, is the co-sponsor of the Administration's bill (S 2814) but he has another bill of his own (S 2650) on space communications which he favors. It provides for a limitation of the ownership of the new space communications system: only FCC-authorized and regulated companies in the international communications business are to be allowed to buy into the new satellite communications corporation. He has received unexpected support from one of the Administration's people, Newton M. Minow, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, on the grounds that such companies would develop the system more expeditiously if they had it all to themselves. In the meantime, since there is nobody around to speak for it, the Administration's compromise bill (its overworked author, Dr. Edward C. Welsh of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, cannot testify because he is under doctor's orders to take a rest) is sinking out of sight. Even if individual investors are allowed to buy into the new communications satellite system, there is a growing doubt whether they would, for profits may be postponed until the end of this decade.

As a result, to the surprise of the proponents of public ownership, there is a possibility TVA-type legislation may be enacted. Rep. William Fitts Ryan (D, N.Y.) has offered such a bill; and Senators Kefauver, Morse, Yarborough and Gore have sponsored similar legislation.

This confusion of purpose in dealing with a development of so much promise to mankind has occurred because it is completely experimental at the present time. It is technically feasible, but no one yet knows the right way to do it practically. "Assuming that the experiments of the next few years are encouraging," said John R. Pierce, who is probably the foremost authority on this technology, in the *Scientific American* last fall, "there should be no lack of capital, domestic and foreign, to share the cost of a world-wide satellite communication system." But there are no grounds for asking private investors to buy into the system now.

Federal Funds for Education

When the President sent the 1962-63 budget to Congress last January, it took several days for analysts to collate the items which dealt with education and to come up with estimates of how much Washington is doing or proposes to do. As House Labor and Education Committee chairman Adam Clayton Powell explained in ordering a special study of the whole federal effort, there are 40 different federal agencies in the education business, from the Agriculture Department with its extension service to the Defense Department with its military academies, war colleges and troop indoctrination programs. Less than half the federal government's educational expenditure goes through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The federal government is involved in educational "research and development," vocational and professional training, curriculum reform and teacher retraining, operating subsidies, and classroom construction. In most of these activities, the national interest is plain: if Congress doesn't appropriate the money, nobody will, and the nation as a whole will suffer. But as Representative Powell may discover, the argument of paramount national interest has little bearing on elementary and secondary classroom construction.

Many modern American communities see their new school buildings as monuments to the wealth, taste and solidarity of the town which built them. The school auditorium often serves, like the medieval church, as a community center. As a result, school construction is

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likely to be more lavish than educational needs alone would warrant.

If a local community wants to build a distinguished school, there is no reason why it shouldn't do so. But as any visitor to European schools knows, the spaciousness and beauty of school buildings is far less important to the quality of instruction than the selection of the teachers, the substance of the curriculum and the imaginativeness of those who evolve educational philosophies and methods.

Bricks and mortar are important. But they are not things on which Congress should spend its limited time and money. Local school boards have done this job adequately in the past (more adequately than any country where financing is centralized), and they can do it in the future. Furthermore, so long as balancing the budget is a problem, a decision to spend federal money on school construction is likely to mean a decision not to spend it on other things, like research, curriculum reform, vocational and professional training, or salaries – all of which contribute directly to the national welfare. These are the activities which local school boards have shown the least willingness or ability to subsidize.

British Defense Policy

The 1962 Defense White Paper clearly suggests that Britain may be compelled to reduce still further its contribution to NATO's forces in Germany, which General Norstadt regards as insufficient already, and which is much smaller than Britain promised to maintain in the Paris Treaties of 1954. The Macmillan government's excuse for this is Bonn's refusal to accept sterling instead of marks for Britain's military expenditure in Germany. This is indeed difficult to justify. But the White Paper also rejects the agreed NATO strategy in Europe by suggesting that almost any conflict there is bound to become total within a short time, so that all the alliance needs is enough troops in Germany to make the threat of all-out nuclear war credible.

This argument that any war with Russia must be a total one is also used to justify spending at least 10 percent of Britain's military budget on trying to maintain an independent nuclear strike force, although it is also assumed that the British deterrent will never be used except in company with the already more than adequate strategic forces of the US. And many experts believe that no strategic force could survive a surprise attack on its bases by Soviet rockets.

The money Britain could save by giving up her strategic nuclear force would help her to make the necessary contribution to the NATO shield in Europe, but it would not produce the necessary manpower unless conscription is reintroduced. Otherwise manpower for Europe can only come from reducing existing overseas commitments; and that has dangers, for the last steps in liquidating an empire may be accompanied by disorders which will be a heavy drain on troops.

There is a difficult choice for the US here as well. On the whole the Kennedy Administration would prefer Britain to cut her NATO forces still further rather than leave America as the only Western power with a real military capacity outside Europe. But in any case, the first condition for enabling Britain to make better use of her restricted military resources is to abandon the strategic nuclear role which her allies do not wish her to sustain, although she claims it is sustained only as part of the alliance.

Waiting for Quadros

The odd behavior of Janio Quadros, who resigned the presidency of Brazil less than seven months after his election, gambled on the chance that he was the indispensable man, and now returns to Brazil to test whether the gamble has paid off, is no more curious than some other things that have been going on in that country. Reports of widespread discontent are multiplying, and a radical upset of one kind or another has become a commonplace prediction. The Brazilian Ambassador to the United States, Roberto Campos, has just flown back to Brazil to be questioned about his part in a financial scandal that has rocked the country.

The affair concerns the operations of an advisory agency called Consultex. It has been the practice in the past for large corporations which need money from Brazil's National Development Bank to submit their requests first to Consultex, which in turn made its recommendations to the Bank. Now it turns out that 10 officials of Consultex, because of their key positions in the government, were also called upon to participate in National Development Bank's decisions: a classical conflict-of-interest case, with the same individuals serving as advisers to the Bank and officers of the Bank. For its advice, Consultex received a fee of 20 percent of the amount loaned by the Bank to any corporation.

There have also been some inexplicable shifts in editorial policies of important Brazilian newspapers. *Diario de Noticias*, heretofore somewhat left of center and neutralist, has suddenly become strongly pro-US, as has the *Jornal do Brasil* which only weeks ago supported the government's "soft" line on Cuba at the Punta del Este conference. For the first time articles have begun to appear in Brazilian newspapers arguing that exploitation of Brazil's oil resources by non-Brazilians would be desirable. Coincidentally, a large oil deposit has been discovered near Bahia. It is known

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that Standard Oil has always been eager to exploit this resource, and now Joao Dantas, a Brazilian publisher, has flown to Kuwait (his wife and son are in New York as guests of Standard Oil) to discuss inviting investments and technicians to Brazil from Kuwait's "International Development Fund." In effect, the Fund would operate in Brazil as a front for Standard Oil – an affront to the strong Brazilian sentiment favoring public, indigenous oil development and a heaven-sent issue for politicians on the Left.

Turkey's Young Radicals

Turkey's abortive *putsch* on February 22 should not be dismissed as the work of unimportant young hotheads. Its underlying causes suggest that Turkey is heading toward a revolutionary situation from which her pro-Western foreign policy may not emerge intact.

The Turkish Army overthrew Mr. Menderes in May, 1960, because in his 10 years of rule he had set up a virtual dictatorship. But there were other reasons. Ataturk had preached and practised *étatisme* – the state's growing involvement in the economic life of the nation. Menderes set the process in reverse. His inflationary policies enriched a whole class of builders, contractors and entrepreneurs, but it saddled the country with a vast foreign debt and a chronic payments deficit of around $100 million a year.

Turkey's population of nearly 28 million could touch 40 million in a decade. Feeding it will be a major problem. Peasants are flocking to the towns. Istanbul's population, for instance, has jumped by half a million since 1955. A new, ill-housed, ill-fed, semi-employed urban proletariat is being created.

Young officers, drawn from the lower middle class, have experienced social conditions at first hand in Turkey's 40,000 villages. Poorly paid, they have not benefited from the surface prosperity of the past decade. Nor have the young intellectuals with whom they are in touch. Many of the members of the Army junta that overthrew Menderes saw the revolution of May 27, 1960, as a triumph for Kemalism over reaction and Islamic obscurantism. But their views were too radical for the older generals, and in November, 1960, 14 of them were expelled and posted to remote commands.

Menderes and his political heirs now share power with the Republican People's Party in Ismet Inonu's coalition. But Mr. Inonu, a cunning and greatly respected former Commander-in-Chief and President of Turkey, is 78. Since taking office last December, his government has pursued a policy of masterly inactivity. The country is drifting toward economic crisis, and the Assembly has done little except debate whether to raise its members' salaries.

That is the background to the latest upheaval on February 22. The insurgents, mainly cadets from the Ankara War Academy, carried only one top general with them – the commander-in-chief of land forces. General Infan Tansel, the powerful head of the Air Force –traditionally a conservative body – sided with the government, and the childishly inept revolt collapsed after 16 hours. But revolutionary forces are at work which cannot so easily be put down.

On New Year's Eve, 100,000 workers demonstrated in Istanbul demanding collective wage bargaining and the right to strike – perhaps the first demonstration of a class character in Turkey's history. The country's first socialist newspaper, called *Yon* (Direction), appeared in January. These are straws in the wind. It may safely be predicted that if nothing is done to satisfy the young radicals, they will turn to Moscow, recalling that their hero Ataturk did so before them.

Collective Bargaining

Secretary of Labor Goldberg's assertion that the government must define the national interest in labor disputes, as well as exercise the traditional role of neutral mediator, has aroused a variety of irritations. George Meany did not agree "whatsoever" with the former attorney for the United Steel Workers. "This is a step in the direction of saying the federal government should tell either or both sides what to do, and I don't agree with that," said the AFL-CIO President.

An unidentified steel spokesman objected that Mr. Goldberg would convert bargaining "from an economic to a political process," and added that "most businessmen feel that in a competitive system you serve the national interest in pursuing your private interest."

While there are still areas of the economy in which this Adam Smithian notion has some validity, steel is not one of them. For steel is the industry that has created inflation by pushing prices up even when operating at less than three-fourths of capacity. And this is why bargaining in steel – and other oligopolized industries – has long since been "converted" into a political process in the sense that the public impact is too great to think of decisions reached as strictly a "private" concern of the union and the companies.

The only new element in Goldberg's statement is that the legitimate public concern would be given a voice through the government. In fact, the government has played this role, in a more or less sub rosa manner, for years; Goldberg has simply been more frank and more firm about it.

The George Romney viewpoint has been expressed by American Motors Vice President Edward L. Cushman, who implicitly grants some merit to the Secretary's point by arguing that government should instead act to diminish "excessive concentrations of industrial

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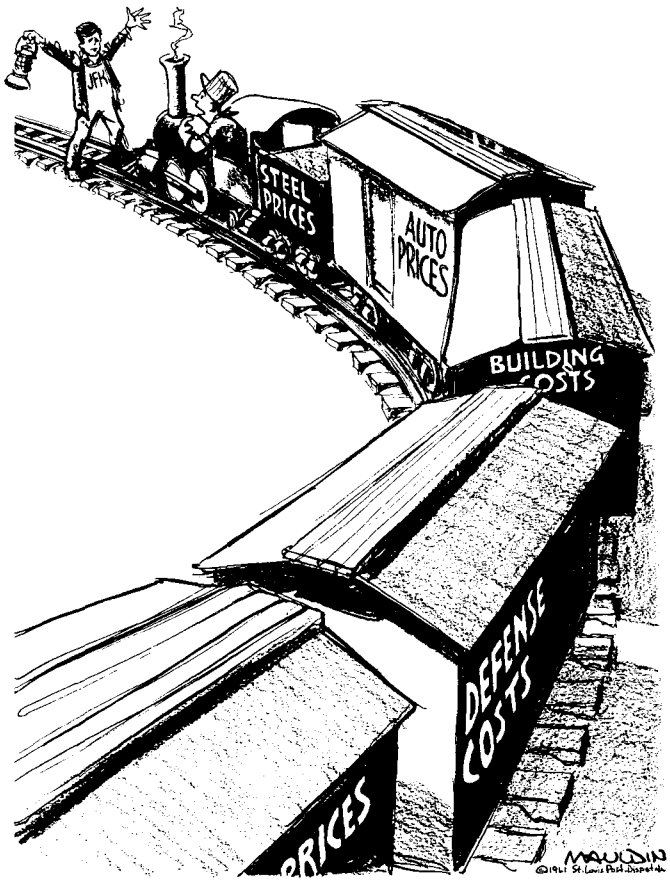
and union power." Economists and other observers of the industrial scene are in dispute as to the economic – let alone the political – feasibility of achieving through antitrust prosecution a sufficient recreation of competitive conditions to destroy the market power situation that makes *laissez-faire* ineffective. Some think it could be done; but most are dubious that it will be done, because the political strength of giant corporations cannot be overcome sufficiently to permit passage of rigorous legislation to "break-'em-up."

This classic view, however, at least has the merits of recognizing that corporate concentration does now exist. That is more than can be said for the NAM, which reacts predictably with its cry that "labor monopoly" is the only problem.

An interesting exception to the general tone of business reactions is the endorsement of Goldberg's position by Joseph L. Black, chairman of Inland Steel, who said: "Each side has to represent its own interest, but neither side must be unmindful of the needs of the nation. Who else can point out those needs but the government?"

Either we accept Big Union-Big Industry market power and regulate its exercise through governmental guidelines (whether of the "soft" or "hard" variety would be the next question), or we must try to push the antitrust campaign much farther so that competition can be the regulator. The one "choice" not open if the national interest is to be served is to leave bigness, administered prices and market-power situations alone, yet rely on competition.



"Why stop little old me?"

Another Step to African Unity

In the lexicon of African unity (1962 version) Addis Ababa follows Lagos. Two weeks ago we described the meeting of 19 independent states (mostly from West Africa) which met in the Nigerian Capital and reaffirmed Africa's desire for supranational bonds. Now the freedom movements of those East African states which are still dependent (known as the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and South Africa) have met in Ethiopia's lofty capital to lay the foundations for a future federation of East, Central and South Africa. If the planners have their way, the federation would include all lands from Ras Kasar, on the Red Sea, to the Cape of Good Hope, where the waters of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans merge. Ethiopia, Somalia and Tanganyika, already independent, would be included. Uganda, which obtains independence in October, and Kenya, which will soon follow, would also join along with Zanzibar and Nyasaland, already enjoying "responsible" government, the Rhodesias, Portuguese-controlled Mozambique, the British high commission territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, and the Republic of South Africa – whenever it gets majority rule.

The schemers of Addis Ababa, all respected leaders in their own lands, were clearly utopian: South Africa will not be ruled by Africans in the immediate future; the government of Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique will remain firmly in white hands for some time; and the high commission territories could not link themselves to a supranationalist union without arousing the wrath of South Africa. Nonetheless, their vision of unity may be prophetic.

The Addis Ababa meetings succeeded, where none has before, in ameliorating tension between Ethiopia and Somalia. Furthermore, to the amazement of observers, the aged Emperor Haile Selassie, an arbitrary monarch by any standards, joined the young bloods of Kenya and beyond in wholesale denouncements of those "colonial imperialists" who still retain control in Africa. Together they pledge to assist the "freedom fighters" of Mozambique, South Africa, and the Rhodesias and to lay the groundwork for common ties after independence.

By the time the conference ended, Ethiopians, Somalis, and Kenyans – who have a series of interlocking border controversies – were arm-in-arm. A Northern

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Rhodesian was elected president and an Ethiopian became vice president, symbolizing an unprecedented alliance of the entrenched independents and the striving dependents. A simple union of political parties coordinating independence campaigns has become an embryo alliance and a possible future union. As such, it is another dramatic expression of Africa's desire to eliminate colonial-imposed boundaries.

Eddie, Teddy and Chris

The race for the Democratic Senatorial nomination in Massachusetts seems to have resolved itself into a travel contest between the clans Kennedy and McCormack. A local newspaper announces: "McCormack Certain for Senate, Will Visit Italy, Israel." This is Edward J. McCormack, Jr., State Attorney General and nephew of the Speaker. Eddie's (not to be confused with his rival "Teddy") Mediterranean tour, which is vital to the Free World of Massachusetts, coincided with an inquiry into road scandals (also of vital importance to Massachusetts) by a House Subcommittee chaired by Rep. John A. Blatnik (D, Minn.). McCormack's assistant, however, gave the committee full cooperation.

Edward M. ("Teddy") Kennedy, Assistant Federal District Attorney of Suffolk County and the ingratiating, touch football-loving youngest son of a well-known family, has not yet declared. But he has been abroad on a mysterious "fact-finding mission" (carrying a large valise of documents "prepared before and during the journey"), which took him to Belgium, Poland, Austria, Ireland and other nations. "Teddy" has many miles of travel advantage on the State Attorney General, having made forays into Africa and South America. One was mildly surprised that he did not announce his candidacy leaning against the Wall in Berlin. He reached the appropriate constitutional age of 30 on Washington's Birthday.

But the man who outdistances them both is former Secretary of State Christian Herter, who is being urged to take on the Irish. If he does, George Cabot Lodge – no bush-league dynast and thus far the major Republican contender for the GOP nomination – would courteously withdraw. He could do no other, for Mr. Lodge has not gone much of anywhere, except to five separate Massachusetts cities to announce his candidacy in a single day.

"Heureux qui, comme Ulysse, a fait un beau voyage." So starts the exquisite sonnet by Joachim du Bellay on the virtues of home. But in Massachusetts, the virtues of home are implied in the political rewards it can give, and the access to these rewards is through the broadening influence of travel.

"Christian Citizens"

Was Jesus an advocate of free enterprise? And is the United States a "Christian nation"? These are questions posed by "Christian Citizen," the latest conservative movement to bid for our attention. Its campaign for members and influence, kicked off at a "prayer-dinner" on Washington's birthday in Phoenix, was addressed by Paul Harvey.

The philosophic progenitor and principal organizer of "Christian Citizen" is an energetic Western businessman, Gerri Von Frellick of Denver, known to the commercial world as a successful builder and operator of mammoth shopping centers. He is less known to his business associates as a devout member of the Southern Baptist church, a deacon, a Sunday School teacher, and president of its Colorado Foundation serving 170 congregations in five states. His political sympathies do not embrace such radical rightists as Robert Welch and the Rev. Billy James Hargis; his political experience has been confined to organizing Southern independents for Eisenhower in 1952.

Von Frellick, in his own account, has been uneasy for some time at the growth of federal centralization and what he feels has been a numb acceptance of the Communist march toward world domination; and all this more particularly among Christians, who tend to shrink from politics as a "dirty business." The enemy (which has "stolen our atomic weapons") must be overpowered with Truth. And the one infallible Truth is the Word in the Bible.

He points out that there are 114 million people counted as Christians in this country, yet they seem to have no influence on politics. "We must have been doing things wrong." "Christian Citizen" is an attempt to awaken them to their responsibility, beginning at the grassroots. It depends on volunteer response and hopes to find in many thousand precincts at least one person who will go out and enlist his Christian neighbors in a primary reading-course of study on America's Christian heritage, its political structure, and how to become effective citizens. Participants are then to be encouraged to "go into politics" at any level from party worker to a candidate for office. Initiation fees are $10 each, and dues $2 monthly.

It will not "attempt to dictate party affiliations, endorse or approve candidates, or seek local church or denominational support." The only requisite for membership will be acknowledgment of Christ as one's personal savior, plus membership in a Christian congregation. But the almost one-to-one correspondence with the political and economic ideas of Barry Goldwater indicates that designedly or not, the members of "Christian Citizen" may push for him or a similar-minded Presidential candidate in 1964.

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Anti-Communist Hysteria: A Catholic Warning

What follows is taken from the booklet, "Communism: Threat to Freedom," published last week by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, an agency of the Roman Catholic bishops of the United States.

Compared with their activities and influence 20 years ago, Communists today [in the US] are weak and impotent. Yet, in the 1960's, strong reaction against domestic Communism is sweeping the land. Well-financed and attended crusades, which would have been manna from heaven in 1946, are increasingly evident. Speakers and writers for such groups are vigorously fighting problems that were mostly solved by 1950. . . . In many parts of the country, hysteria and suspicion are becoming increasingly evident. A virulent form of disunity is weakening us in the world struggle against Communism, and performing this disservice in the name of militant anti-Communism. Many Americans are confused and bewildered by the whole trend.

Their basic problem is frustration and even fear. They have seen the Soviet Union apparently gaining in its struggle to communize the world. Those who would have Americans concentrate on a minor threat of domestic subversion and ignore subversion and Communist pressures in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America are misleading the American people. Whatever their motives, they are effectively aiding the Communist cause.

They are most effective when they can quote "experts" to bolster their cause. There are three types of "experts" whose credentials should be scrutinized with care. They are former agents of the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation), former informants for the FBI, and persons who have had first-hand contact with the Communist Party, either as members or victims.

Many of the more vocal anti-Communist groups have connected Communism with social philosophies they find unpopular. Many, for example, use the argument expressed by a former high government official in late 1961. It runs this way: liberalism (or the Fair Deal or the New Frontier) is the same as the welfare state. The welfare state is socialism. And the Communists say that they are socialists. Hence, liberalism is Communism.

Actually this statement is bad logic and worse history. As logic, it would make the encyclical of Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra* (Christianity and Social Progress), a defense of Communism. The encyclical advocates or does not reprove many specific items rejected by extremist groups (the use of the income tax to equalize burdens, aid to undeveloped nations, government action to smooth out economic change, social insurance, aid to agriculture, housing subsidies, *etc.*).

The violent and bitter struggle for racial equality in the United States has often prompted charges that Communists were behind these activities.

Actually, it is an amazing fact that the Communists have had such little success among the Negroes.

In fact, Negro leaders and the overwhelming majority of Negro people have rejected Communist influence and have insisted that they are true Americans. Whenever Communist influence is detected by the NAACP (National Association for Advancement of Colored People) or CORE, it is promptly removed.

Protestant churches, especially the National Council of Churches, have also been a target for attack. Behind these attacks one usually finds opposition to the "social Gospel" or to alleged modernist trends in organized Protestantism. Communist influence among the Protestant clergy today is virtually nonexistent.

Groups opposed to the United Nations often use alleged Communist infiltration or even control as a weapon in attacking this organization. Some of these opponents are basically isolationist and using the Communist charge as a handy weapon. Catholics who deny our international responsibilities do so in the face of repeated papal assertions of our moral obligations to seek world order, world prosperity and world peace.

The labor movement and certain labor leaders have also been the targets of special pleaders. Yet the Congress of Industrial Organizations wing of the labor movement expelled its Communist unions well before the general public became excited about the problem. Offenses charged to Communist infiltration also include fluoridation of water, promoting mental health and organized peddling of smut. Yet our organized dental profession supports fluoridation of water. The medical profession endorses sound mental health programs. And organized pornography is a commercial venture.

The menace of Communism is much too real and much too worldwide for the American people to tolerate and support distortions such as those outlined above. Simple honesty and respect for truth should be adequate reasons for avoiding these efforts. But they are more than dishonest, they are also divisive. If carried far enough, these movements would paralyze American diplomacy. When every discussion with the Communist powers is considered a sign of weakness or even treason, then we are left with only two stark alternatives: surrender or war. Common sense should tell us we should seek some middle course between these extremes.

The Rev. John F. Cronin

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THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION AND *THE NEW REPUBLIC*

Medical Care for The Aged

The President of the AMA Writes:

I would like to make a few comments about Mr. Christopher Jencks' February 5 article in *The New Republic*, "The Unhealthy Aged." The American Medical Association's opposition to using the Social Security system as a mechanism for supplying medical care to the aged is not based on any indifference to the health needs of our elder citizens. We believe that existing needs can be met, and met fully, without recourse to a program that could lower the high standards of American medicine and financially drain both the Social Security system and the wages of every working American.

As Mr. Jencks points out not all the aged are ill and not all the aged are indigent. We do not see great wisdom in a blanket increase of Social Security taxes to assist millions who need no assistance at all: instead, we see political expediency. If the King-Anderson bill were passed the taxable wage base for every working American would be raised from $4,800 to $5,200. By 1963, Social Security taxes would total $403, a 39.9 percent increase over 1961's $288. By 1968, under existing provisions for Social Security increases, the annual bill would jump 76 percent to $507. And these figures are firm only if the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's cost estimates hold true. HEW pegs the initial cost of King-Anderson legislation at a little over one billion dollars annually: non-government actuaries say it could easily cost twice as much.

Another factor ignored by proponents of the bill concerns some important changes in our population makeup. Now, one out of 12 persons is over 65; 10 years from now one out of 10 will be in this age group. Furthermore, government population projections predict a serious imbalance in our labor force within the next decade. Today, about 57 percent of the population is between the ages of 20 and 64; but in 20 years only 43 percent will be in this age group.

Thus, there will be fewer working Americans paying taxes to Social Security to support a greater number of retired persons. By how much more will Social Security taxes have to be increased to cover existing benefits plus the additional financial drain for medical care? HEW and the Administration have never told us. Instead, we are led to believe that the increases outlined now will suffice for future generations.

What, then, are alternatives to Social Security? One is the Kerr-Mills bill passed in September, 1960, and now being implemented in 38 states. This legislation is designed to provide comprehensive medical coverage for all persons over 65, regardless of their Social Security status, who need help. Kerr-Mills supplies medical assistance through two channels. One is the Medical Assistance to the Aged (MAA) program which provides help for those aged persons who can meet normal living expenses but have trouble with medical expenses. The second phase of the law provides federal matching funds to states wishing to expand the scope of medical benefits for the aged already on the Old Age Assistance rolls.

Another medical aid supplement is voluntary insurance. Over 53 percent of the elderly now have some type of health insurance, and by 1970 insurance actuaries estimate that 80 to 90 percent will be covered. Since Mr. Jencks' article went to press, the American Medical Association and the National Association of Blue Shield Plans announced a comprehensive, nationwide Blue Shield program of surgical and medical benefits for the aged. The program should be operative by this spring at an estimated $3.20 monthly premium. Other private insurance companies are also offering multi-benefit programs at moderate costs.

Mr. Jencks and the AMA are in firm agreement on the most important facet of helping our senior citizens. As he points out, "What the aged need . . . is a way of life which makes survival and health worthwhile." We need to find ways of making the aged's life more meaningful and more productive. We do not need to make them dependent on a paternalistic government for subsistence and care and we can not afford to tie their health needs to a system traditionally controlled by politicians.

Leonard W. Larson, M.D.

And in Reply:

Although Dr. Larson is in a better position than I to know what will and what will not "lower the standards of American Medicine," I have seen no evidence, and he offers none, that the passage of the King-Anderson bill would do what he predicts. I would not have thought that a physician's "standards" of competence would be influenced, one way or another, by how medical care is financed. Moreover, no one is proposing

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that doctors become state employees. Hospital bills of aged patients would be paid in much the same way under King-Anderson as they are paid under Blue Cross. And although organized medicine once frowned on Blue Cross, it does not now.

Neither do I see how the passage of the Administration's bill would "drain the Social Security system," since actuarial estimates by the Social Security Administration indicate that the proposed 0.5 percent increase in Social Security taxes and $4,800 to $5,200 increase in the Social Security tax base would make the program self-supporting. If the program costs more than anticipated, which it certainly might, further rises in Social Security taxes will be authorized, but the Social Security account will not be "drained."

To say that passage of the King-Anderson bill would "drain the wages of every working American" also seems to me misleading. It is hospital bills themselves which drain pocketbooks. I believe that most Americans would rather have their wages drained $1.00 per week throughout their working lives, in what amounts to an obligatory savings plan, than have $500 to 1,500 at a time drained from their retirement-depleted bank accounts. I may be wrong in this judgment of the popular temper, but Dr. Gallup's inquiries support me.

Dr. Larson conveys the impression that the King-Anderson bill would cost much more than a dollar a week; he alludes to a Social Security rise from $288 to $403 per year. Most of this increase, however, has nothing to do with the King-Anderson bill; it will be caused by paying higher retirement and disability benefits to more people. Furthermore, only the 29 percent of the working population earning $100 or more per week will pay even a dollar per week for King-Anderson benefits; the more typical American wage earner, getting $70 per week, would pay only an additional $0.35 per week for coverage. And of course only half this contribution will come from the worker's wages; the other half will come from employers.

There is no doubt that the growing proportion of the population over 65 will increase the cost of Social Security as Dr. Larson says; indeed, much of the 76 percent increase between 1961 and 1968 mentioned by him stems from just such trends. Medical care for growing numbers of old people will be expensive. But it will be no more expensive to finance this care through the King-Anderson bill than privately – unless, of course, private care saves money by discouraging some people from seeking treatment they need. There is considerable evidence that this now happens, but I am sure Dr. Larson is as unhappy as I am about this kind of "economy."

Although Dr. Larson says that the Kerr-Mills Act is now "being implemented" in 38 states, most of these states contemplate wholly inadequate programs. In some states, enabling legislation has not even passed the legislature; in some, no appropriation has been made to implement legislation; in some, the means test is so severe that only a few hundred people benefit; in some, benefits are so meager that beneficiaries still have to borrow from children or charity to pay hospital bills. Only in Massachusetts, New York and Michigan does the Kerr-Mills legislation now approach adequacy, and it seems to me unlikely that more than a dozen states will ever match these three.

Although there are millions of old people who now buy private hospital insurance, it is an overstatement to say that they do not need coverage under King-Anderson. In the first place, the bill would provide broader and better coverage than the private insurance policies most elderly people can afford (especially because King-Anderson coverage could not be cancelled when the beneficiary got sick). In the second place, even those who now have private policies which give them more protection than the King-Anderson bill proposes would in most cases be only too happy to cancel these policies, pay for hospital care through Social Security, and spend the saved income in other ways. (One way they might spend the money is on Blue Shield coverage for doctor's bills, referred to by Dr. Larson. The King-Anderson bill would, like Blue Cross, cover only hospital bills.) There are, of course, some retired people who really don't need any help if they become sick, people who have so much money that they do not find private insurance a burden. But even they will lose nothing by the passage of the bill, since they would buy hospital insurance anyway. The only real losers will be those few private insurance companies which now deal extensively with retired clients.

Private insurance will probably cover a growing percentage of the aged population if the King-Anderson proposal is killed. But unless Social Security payments increase sharply, or insurance salesmen begin to push policies paying only a fraction of hospital bills, the insurance industry seems to me unlikely to corral 90 (or even 80) percent of the over-65 market by 1970, as Dr. Larson predicts. If there were convincing evidence from either American or European experience that private insurance worked better than government insurance, it might be worthwhile to sacrifice the uninsurable and the impoverished for the general welfare. But I have been unable to find any proof that federally-financed insurance (*i.e.* for military dependents and retired federal employees) works any less satisfactorily than private insurance. Why should it be expected to work out badly in this case? Is a system "controlled by politicians" really less likely to meet public requirements than a system controlled by the directors of insurance companies? If so, an important new principle of political science has been discovered.

CHRISTOPHER JENCKS

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MAYOR BRANDT HAS PLANS FOR THE CITY'S INDEFINITE SURVIVAL

Is Berlin a "Dying City"?

Berlin

More than one Western statesman has remarked recently that West Berlin, ringed in by the Wall and connected to the outside by thin and threatened lines of communication, is a "dying city." When one watches the crowds bustling down the *Kurfurstendamm*, the eager queues outside the theaters, or the healthy, holiday-minded people who throng the *Gruenewald* and the banks of the Havel at the weekend, the phrase "dying city" seems utterly unjustified. Besides, the city's vigor and *joie de vivre* is everlastingly heightened by contrast with gray, dismal East Berlin – one of the most depressing places in Europe. Yet West Berlin's 2.5 million inhabitants are confronted by a challenge even greater than that of the Blockade 14 years ago.

How has West Berlin reacted? Its citizens have an outward air of confidence. Its government has achieved an ideal blend of determination and discretion. While bombastic demands were being made to knock down the Wall, Mayor Brandt had the presence of mind to say that the Berliners might have to learn to "live with it"; which is exactly what they have to do, and for an indefinite period of time. It is probably this sense of the indefinite that preys most on their minds.

Here are some of the effects of the Wall on the city's life. Its labor force was depleted at one stroke by 50,000, the number of people who came daily from East Berlin to work in the Western sectors. West Berlin gained, as some return, around 12,000 West Berliners who had formerly worked in the East sector. Increased rationalization of industry and overtime work have helped to maintain industrial production. But the overall industrial upswing must inevitably have been slowed down, and the effects of labor shortage (for West Berlin used to have an unemployment problem) will become apparent by the end of this year. Unemployment is now down to a mere 13,000.

Only sections of the economy which cannot be described as "basic" have suffered so far. A number of shops near the Wall have had to close down (the Potsdamer Platz provides the most obvious example of this, where what used to be a main thoroughfare now ends at the blank face of the eight foot high wall). Cinemas and restaurants all over West Berlin have been hard hit, for they were the places most patronized by the 100,000 East Berliners who crossed daily into the brighter, livelier and above all freer Western sectors. Hotels have been bewailing their loss of trade – caused by the uncertainties of mind of West German citizens who used to regard a visit to Berlin as a worthwhile excursion. Industrial firms, employing nearly 900,000 people, have been casting an anxious eye at their order-books. There has not been a noticeable decline in orders, but this is a nagging worry: two-thirds of West Berlin's industrial production goes to the Federal Republic and another 10 percent travels, via Western Germany, to other Western countries.

The building of the Wall caused only a mild shock to investors. Inevitably there was a decline on the Berlin Stock Exchange (share prices fell by about five percent in a month) but this, as it happened, was not much greater than in the Federal Republic. Yet there is a relationship between the two: the Wall has been the prime cause of declines on the Stock Exchanges of Dusseldorf, Frankfurt and Hamburg. Bank and Post Office savings dropped by about three percent by the end of 1961 and time deposits also fell. But in each case there has been a limited recovery since Christmas.

Probably the biggest worry has been the outflow of people. West Berlin has the biggest proportion in all Germany of old-age pensioners, and it has a static birth rate. The city cannot afford to lose people, above all young people. On February 18, Herr Brandt gave some figures in Bonn, when speaking to the executive of the Social Democratic Party. He claimed that emigration from West Berlin was again "normal," that "only" 8,000 West Berliners left the city for the West between August 13 and the end of 1961, and that the intake of inhabitants for the whole of 1961 was actually 5,000 larger than the outflow.

These figures are misleading. Berlin's surplus intake was due to the number of East Germans escaping before August 13 and settling in the city. Even after August 13, a considerable number of East Germans, who happened to be in West Berlin when the Wall went up, decided to remain. During August and September the net outflow from West Berlin averaged 1,100 a week. In October it dropped to just over 800 a week, and in December and January to around 550 a week. The net outflow will probably continue to run at this last figure (for people in a hurry to get out obviously got out as soon as possible). But even that will give a net outflow of nearly 30,000 a year; and a large proportion of them will be young people. For it is the young who look to the future, and what has

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the future to offer in West Berlin? German youth today are notoriously practical and unsentimental.

Herr Brandt recognizes the danger. He is offering young West Germans who settle in West Berlin a down payment of 100 marks in their first month, and 50 marks in each of the next two months. If they are unmarried they will have free return journeys from Berlin to their homes twice a year; if they are married and parted from wife or husband, they will get four free trips home a year. Plane fares from Berlin to West German towns were reduced last month by 30 percent (the difference between the old and the new fare is paid by the government in Bonn). Herr Brandt has also announced large-scale building projects – 85 million marks are to be spent this year on the city *autobahn* and the underground railway, another 25 million marks on extensions to the two universities. The housing program will be stepped up from 20,000 to 25,000 new homes. Berlin has plenty of room for them, and this may prove attractive to young married couples who have to live as lodgers in Western Germany or wait four to six months for a two-and-a-half room flat.

Mayor Brandt has long-term plans as well. He hopes to do three things: raise industrial production and make it more selective; turn West Berlin into a major "cultural center" (congresses of all kinds as well as film and theater festivals); and, make the city the base for all institutions connected with economic aid to the underdeveloped countries. This program will cost a lot of money. But in 1961 the Federal Government already had to put 2,800 million marks into West Berlin, including 1,200 million marks of direct financial aid. (The Federal Republic's total revenue from taxation in West Berlin was 1,400 million marks.) It may be that the Federal Government will have to raise its "real" contribution to Berlin's economy from 1,400 million to at least 2,000 million marks a year in order to assure the city's future as a democratic outpost of the Western world. For it is going to require more than energy, courage and belief in the ideal of freedom to prevent West Berlin from becoming a "dying city."

Terence Prittie

LABOUR PAINS OVER JOINING THE COMMON MARKET

Gaitskell's Ranks Divide

London

The Labour Party ought, by rights, to have nothing to fear now but itself. The Tory Government's slump is showing up in the opinion polls and should do so, even more markedly, in the next batch of by-elections. Although dissatisfied suburbia prefers to vote Liberal at by-elections (thereby pushing Labour into third place in these anti-Socialist strongholds), the existing national swing would be sufficient to return a Labour government were Mr. Macmillan, in a fit of total aberration, to go to the country this year. Mr. Gaitskell has promptly, and wisely, shot down the trial balloons of a formal Lib-Lab alliance. Even looking into 1963 the Gaitskellite leadership sees two of the three major issues going its way. Trade union resentment at the "pay pause" is likely to pull out the full Labour vote (the boom of 1958-59 cost the Labour Party heavily in abstentions last time), while the Tories are in danger of losing the poorer-paid white collar workers on whom the government's interventions in wage arbitrations have weighed most heavily. Provided the unions do not rouse latent Tory voters by a series of massive strikes against Selwyn Lloyd's version of a planned economy, the inability of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to express himself at all coherently on economic policy could be enough, by itself, to see Labour in.

Equally, Labour's strategists expect the next big bomb that goes off at Westminster (any time now) to be one accompanied by the awful, Welensky-shaped fallout cloud. The splitting apart of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is calculated to have baleful effects on the Tory Center and Right. Even if this does not actually win Labour votes in the country, it will add to Ministers' weariness and disarray.

It is, in fact, only on the third issue, the conjuncture with Europe, that Labour is itself in any uncertainty and on which its candid friends are calling for more purposeful leadership. Sadder and wiser from their experience in upholding the independent British nuclear deterrent when Macmillan himself had already decided to scrap the Blue Streak missile, the Gaitskellites have been determined not to do the government's job for it this time in facing up to the extreme Left and Right opposition (from Michael Foot to Lord Beaverbrook) to membership in the Common Market. Since

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Labour can have little or no knowledge of the day-to-day diplomatic negotiations, this may be sound parliamentary tactics. But the public fence-sitting in which Gaitskell, Harold Wilson and Jim Callaghan (the new "shadow" chancellor) have indulged is prompting sharp criticism from those who want to see Labour invested with a forward-looking policy, bound up with European and Atlantic unity. Both the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Mirror*, the two mass circulation pro-Labour dailies, have been snapping at Gaitskell's heels.

Labour leadership's line has been to welcome the fact of negotiations with the Six but to announce, in the same breath, a dozen reservations on the prospective outcome. These reservations originate in deep, if not necessarily fatal, party divisions. On the far Left, the Victory for Socialism group is bitterly opposed to any political connection with the Europe of Adenauer and de Gaulle. It does not see how a full-blown Socialist economy (which it still wants) could be sustained in Britain if budgetary policy were to be controlled by capitalist managers in Brussels. It professes to fear that the Six is merely an anti-Soviet, pro-colonialist alliance, designed to divide Western and Eastern Europe permanently: thus the demonstrations of US approval of the Six, couched in anti-Communist terms, have served to confirm its worst suspicions. These fundamentalists muster no more than 30 votes in the House of Commons, but their influence in arguing against non-Socialist entanglements spreads into the center of the party among some of the old guard Attlee ministers (Attlee himself has opposed British membership in the Common Market), who in their day followed Ernest Bevin's line in having nothing to do with such putative European schemes as the Coal and Steel Community.

The bulk of trade union MPs, the 100 dumb, driven cattle that are the leftwing intelligentsia's despair, have stood trustingly by Gaitskell. Some miners' representatives and the farm workers' spokesman, Edwin Gooch, are worried by the threat of European competition and by the Common Market's eventual opening of the door to Italian and other immigrant labor. Even workers in the motor industry have reason to fear European incursions into the British home market once the tariff barriers go down. But other voices have helped to rally the ranks. Thus Alf (more properly, Lord) Robens, formerly on the Labour front bench and now head of the nationalized coal industry, believes he can sell more coal to Europe; Lord Walston, tipped as Labour's minister of agriculture, also favors going in. George Brown, the deputy leader of the party and a convinced pro-marketeer, maintains that when the hour strikes this bewildered but loyal heart of the Labour movement will turn up *en masse* in the European lobby.

The leadership has been mainly inhibited by the obvious split in the normally Gaitskellite intellectual right. The party's pro-Common Market campaign committee is led by the youthful Roy Jenkins, backed up, among others, by the aging (and politically fading) John Strachey. One of their most effective jobs has been to drive home the facts of rising German working-class prosperity and the high level of social security that most industrial workers in the Six enjoy. (It has been a British illusion that no welfare state exists outside Little England.) But against the marketeers is that other rightwing theorist, Douglas Jay, who (with "shadow cabinet" moderates like Denis Healey) has dared to found his opposition on economic as well as political grounds. Jay and his friends argue that to join Europe is to step back into old-fashioned protectionism against the rest of the world. This, they say, suits the Six, but it would damage British trade (only 15 percent of which is with the Six); raise food prices in Britain and, thereby, labor costs and export prices too; and deprive the underdeveloped Commonwealth of a trading relationship that is more satisfactory to the Afro-Asians than European aid handouts.

The answer to all this depends, of course, on the future evolution of the Six's policies, with the British and Germans pushing from inside and Washington pulling from outside. Gaitskell and his friends certainly welcome every liberalizing pronouncement from Brussels. But their doubts have been sufficient to keep them doing the hesitation waltz, accompanied by conversational reminders that to join Europe will not (as the Tories sometimes assume) necessarily mean a higher rate of economic expansion. This is true enough: Britain's economy could remain as stagnant as Belgium's has within the Six unless its rooted anachronisms are cut out. The difficulty about proclaiming this too loudly is that, as the Gaitskellites know, much of Labour's hard-core electoral support comes from precisely those flagging heavy industrial areas that have most to fear not merely from Europe but from joining the second half of the 20th Century. The Common Market is, in this sense, built into the Labour Party's central dilemma.

ALASTAIR BURNET

COMING: *Kennedy's trade liberalization policy— a two part study by Oscar Gass*

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Fair Play on Wall Street

Some Dilemmas of a Dealer in Stocks

by Lawrence Sibley

By the end of 1960, according to the New York Stock Exchange, there were 15 million Americans who owned securities. Though we have no accurate figure for 1935, it is believed that no more than 2.5 million Americans then owned stocks. The number of publicly-owned companies has also risen dramatically. There are over 2,000 concerns listed in the New York and American Stock Exchange, and more than 3,000 companies whose stocks are traded over the counter. Today, moreover, mutual funds, pension funds and other organizations do about 26 percent of all trading done on the New York Stock Exchange; in one typical day in 1961 they accounted for sales of 1.9 million shares against an average daily total of 1.3 million for *all* traders in 1935.

This boom in public participation has brought problems, and in the next 12 months we are likely to hear more about them. A great many proposals for reform will be put forward, some of them long overdue. For the obvious abuses (the evasion of margin requirements, for example) there will be obvious remedies, and the SEC can reasonably be expected to find them. But border areas will remain more difficult to police, for Wall Street's problems are more complex than an intermittent lack of integrity among some of its 30,000 registered representatives selling securities.

Much of what is wrong with Wall Street arises from the fact that many individuals and many firms play dual or treble roles. Some are brokers (licensed to buy and sell stocks to the public) who also buy and sell for their own account; some are underwriters (offering new stocks and bonds on the market) who trade in securities not listed on any national exchange; some are investment advisers who also handle and manage mutual funds; and others are specialists (or brokers' brokers) and yet trade for their own accounts. The result of these multiple dealings is divided loyalties.

The American Stock Exchange report by the SEC released in November, 1961, disclosed what this dual allegiance can mean. The report described the activities of Gilligan & Will, specialists for 44 companies. This firm regularly took positions in companies about to be listed on the ASE, companies it later represented as a specialist. In the case of Guild Films, Gilligan & Will owned more than 10 percent of the outstanding stock. This ownership brought Gilligan & Will into close contact with the officers of Guild Films, and put them in the role of "insiders." As "insiders," they got and were able to act on information not available to others; they were able to profit by their privileged relationship. Whereas the orderly and proper functioning of an auction market demands impartial specialists, Gilligan & Will, could not be impartial.

To take another illustration, in November, 1961, the SEC announced that Robert Gintel, a partner of Cady, Roberts, a member of the New York Stock Exchange, had been suspended for 20 days. This disciplinary action was taken because Gintel had sold Curtiss-Wright stock in 1959, after receiving inside information about a dividend cut before the news had been made public. (The NYSE had previously censured Gintel, and had fined him for his action.) A member of Gintel's firm, J. Cheever Cowdin, was a director of Curtiss-Wright. During a recess at a directors' meeting, Cowdin telephoned Gintel to inform him about an impending cut in the dividend paid by Curtiss-Wright. Mr. Gintel, acting on this information thereupon sold approximately 7,000 shares of stock, most of it for customers, but some of it for his wife (this made him especially vulnerable to criticism). He sold "short" – *i.e.*, he sold stock that he did not own with the hope that he could buy it back later at a cheaper price.

According to the SEC, under Rule X-10B5, Gintel should have foregone any action upon his inside information. Indeed, he had an obligation under the SEC rules to disclose his information to the public at large, not merely to his own clients.

One wonders: how literally can one respect such a regulation? Should Gintel have reported the news to other brokers so that they could sell their stock, while he (and his customers) were left holding the bag? Should he have kept mum, knowing that his securities (and his customers') would soon depreciate? Once he had the information, what sensible and legal and moral course was open to him?

Once he had the information – there's the rub. The only way the dilemma in which the broker is placed by

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the SEC rules (in themselves perfectly correct, for one does not want a market manipulated by "insiders") could be avoided would be (1) if inside information were never available, or (2) if stockbrokers were kept at long arm's length from Corporate affairs. Condition (1) is impossible in a free society. Condition (2) is probably unenforceable and certainly undesirable, for the stockbroker has a responsibility to his clients to learn all he can legitimately about the fortunes of a corporation in which he has invested their money. Moreover, it is desirable for him to be personally acquainted with the firm's management, suppliers, competitors, *etc.*, so that he can decide intelligently how and when to invest the public's money. Yet in performing these duties he is bound to become the recipient of "inside information." A broker who never had an iota of such information would soon find himself out of business, for the good and sufficient reason that he would know little more than his customers.

Actually, the reason why the question of a stockbroker's acting on "inside information" is so infrequently a scandal is that there is so much of it around, and such a large part of it is false. The stockbroker would go bankrupt if he acted on most of it; it is this fact rather than any SEC regulation that protects the "outsiders."

If the problem of the individual as an "insider" is difficult, it becomes far more complicated when it involves a mutual fund. Any large mutual fund has its own research staff whose obligation it is to check activities of companies owned by the fund. This obligation is particularly onerous because of the size of the commitments involved. If, for example, a fund had had a million-dollar investment in Curtiss-Wright stock, its managers may well have suspected that the dividend would be cut because of the earnings trend. But what if one of its research analysts had succeeded in confirming this information in advance of its release to the general public? Would the fund have had to forego its sales of the stock – and if it had done so, wouldn't it have failed to fulfill its fiduciary obligations to the shareholders of the fund?

Stock Underwriters

The "hot" new issue market has sparked reports of abuses that result in part, again, from the dual role played by certain of the participants. (That abuses have occurred should come as no surprise; new offerings in 1961 were more than four times as great as in 1935.) The SEC has been investigating many of these "hot" stock issues and has asked broker-dealers for information regarding a number of recent flotations, including such esoteric issues as Mother's Cookies and Rocket Jet Engineering. Although the Commission has not yet published its conclusions, *Fortune*, in its own study, concluded that though there doubtless has been a substantial amount of hanky-panky, and even some downright robbery, not all "hot" issues were the result of collusion and chicanery. There are other possibilities:

1. The underwriter of a new stock may have misjudged the market. Lee-Wilson, brought out at $10 a share, immediately went to $25. This would look suspicious were it not for the fact that it now sells at $60, and is regarded by some as not expensive at that price.

2. If a firm such as Lehman Brothers or White Weld underwrite the issue of a small company, the offering is almost certain to be in great demand. Not only the underwriter's size, but its reputation carry over to the firm seeking capital from the public.

Two underwritings done by Lehman Brothers were Infra-Red Industries and Vacuum Electronics. The latter came out at $16, rose as high as $34 and is now selling at about $21. In cases such as these two, it is hard to know what action the SEC might take. In his central role, the legitimate underwriter must weigh the legitimate needs of the company against his desire to give his clients a fair deal; and he must perform each of these conflicting functions well enough to assure himself of a profit. The underwriter is, for a period at least, in the dilemma of representing both the sellers of stock and some of the buyers. Why not separate completely the underwriter's and stockbroker's roles? The idea is being considered by the SEC.

There are other problems involving the underwriter of new stock issues that are not easily disposed of. One relates to the prospectus required by the SEC with each new issue. Each prospectus is designed to provide the potential buyer with information about a company's sales, earnings, balance sheet, nature of business, competition, customers, officers' salaries, pension fund and debt requirements. But sometimes "full disclosure" would mean an unfair revelation of company secrets. Thus, in a recent case involving the Pall Corporation, the SEC was forced to weigh the interests of the company against the requirements for full disclosure. If the prospectus had revealed Pall's prospective customers for fiber glass, or the prices at which Pall was prepared to sell that fiber glass, the company's competitors might have gained valuable information. Yet without this information, investors may have been inclined to downgrade the value of the new project to Pall. The omission of these facts, furthermore, may later be the subject of a stockholder's suit, as is occurring in the Transitron case.

What is doubtful is whether the offering statements really protect the public (subsequent suits on the basis of statements made may come too late to help an investor who had lost heavily); or whether the best interests of the company are always well served. While

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price rises of 50 percent are unusual in new stocks, appreciation of 600 percent or more can be found among stocks that have been in the hands of the public longer. One curious example is that of Allied Empire. This stock was selling at about 50 cents. It had almost no assets and no earning power. Its reputation as a producer of TV components was low. Yet within seven months, the stock went from 50 cents to $45. Stockholders who sold out earlier because they were not informed that the company had gone out of the production of TV parts missed some spectacular profits. Stockholders who sold out because they were not informed that an outside source (allegedly, members of the Teamsters' Union) was financing the company's entry into the savings and loan business have a right to complain. Another company, where the lack of published information proved costly to stockholders, was United Technical Industries. In July, 1961, the stock was selling at almost $25. By December, at $3. Now an over-the-counter firm that was both broker (handling transactions for others for a fee) and dealer (trading in its own account) in Allied Empire and UTI would have had some nice ethical problems. In Allied Empire, for whom would he have bought first – his broker clients, or his firm account? In UTI who would have benefited from the first sale?

These examples attest to the need for the reform suggested by Mr. Keith Funston: ". . . There is an important job that only the government can do. It involves ending the curious and thoroughly unjust double standard with which an investor must cope in today's securities markets. When he buys the securities of a corporation listed on a stock exchange, he can be assured that the company is required to file an annual report describing operations and financial position. Information about securities transactions by officers, directors, and 10 percent holders will be made public. When proxy material is furnished to him, it will contain the information essential to making a sound voting decision. . . . But when the same investor buys the securities of a corporation which is not listed on a stock exchange, he can count on no such intelligence . . . although the unlisted corporation may be as large, or have as many shareholders as its listed counterpart. . . . Surely it is an anomaly that of the roughly 25,000 corporations whose shares are traded in America, only about 2,200 are listed and thereby come under the disclosure provisions of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934."

As pointed out earlier, mutual funds account for approximately 25 percent of trading on the New York Stock Exchange on a typical day. Because the fund managers are so "sensitive" to the role they play as trustees of huge sums of money, self-regulation has been reasonably successful. The Board of the Investment Company Institute has periodically proposed new regulations to govern the behavior of officers, trustees, directors and employees of member companies. Yet the proposals of the Institute itself reveal possible conflicts of interest, and the same thread of dual allegiance runs through this group of institutions.

Mutual Funds

Mutual funds, themselves, fall into two categories: those that are brokerage-firm managed, and those that are not. Of the broker-run funds, the best known are: William Street, Lazard Fund, Dreyfus Fund, Chemical Fund and the Energy Fund. Of the non-broker-run funds, the largest include Wellington, Massachusetts Investment Trust, Investor's Diversified and the United. Other huge institutions run by investment committees rather than brokers include Harvard University and the Sears Roebuck Pension Fund.

In the fund run by brokerage firms, there are obvious areas of sensitivity. The first of these stems from the dual role played by the firm as broker to its private clients and as manager of the fund. The conflict is heightened when the brokerage firm runs an Investment Advisory Service, for which it collects fees. There is no acute difficulty when purchases are confined to companies the size of General Electric or General Motors. In these stocks, all purchases and sales can be made within fractions of a point. (Though in the case of General Electric, some nice problems could have arisen when the stock took a sharp drop some months ago.) In small companies, where the floating supply or the amount of stock outstanding in the public's hands is small, the conflict of interest, stemming from the firm's dual role may become acute. In these smaller companies, substantial buying or selling has a sharp impact on the market price of the stock. Who gets priority – the fund, the Investment Advisory Accounts, or the private clients? In a stock such as Mattel which fluctuated wildly last year, the question of priority had real significance. A seller in mid-December of last year could have got $95 a share; subsequent sellers only a week later might have received $75. If the fund had received preference, the other accounts would have had cause for complaint; reversing the roles would have meant dissatisfied fund stockholders.

Nor is the dilemma really solved by a decision not to buy the same securities for each group. For example, if William H. Rorer had been bought for the fund in 1960, but not for the Investment Advisory Accounts, the Investment Advisory accounts would have lost a really brilliant opportunity: the price of the stock increased almost six-fold in 2 years.

Equally tough is the dilemma that arises if the brokerage firm trades in stocks for its own account. If

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a stock issue is untried, the partners may decide that it is appropriate for the firm to buy it, but not for the fund. If, subsequently, the stock is bought at higher prices for the fund, the SEC might be moved to ask why the fund should take the higher-priced stock. Moreover, if the stock is never subsequently bought for the fund or for the advisory accounts, and it quadruples in price, the SEC might also demand an explanation. Why was the fund discriminated against?

How do you legislate solutions to problems that involve matters of subjective judgment? One example, involving different advice given to two sets of investors, may be relevant. A brokerage firm that manages a mutual fund was advised by its research staff and its technical advisers to buy a stock in a leading West Coast electronics company. The firm bought the stock not only for its fund, but for its clients as well. About six months later, the same advisers recommended the sale of the stock. Again the advice was followed, both for the fund and for clients. Yet two months later, when purchase was again advised (at lower prices), the firm in question felt the re-purchase would be inappropriate for the fund, although it had no hesitation about making a buy recommendation to its clients. Whereas individuals can reverse themselves quickly, funds are not free to do so, lest they incur the charge of "churning" for the purpose of generating commissions. To an outsider, the divergence may have appeared strange; the firm's partners regarded it as sound.

One way out of such dilemmas – the separation of brokerage houses from mutual funds – would seem relatively simple, were it not for two important facts. First, the record of many of the broker-managed funds has been well above average. The Dreyfus Fund stockholders have no cause for complaint; those of the Energy Fund are equally pleased. Secondly, such a separation might be a death blow to the small fund, leaving the field entirely to the giants. Research expenditures run extraordinarily high, and a small fund, whose only source of income is its management fees, cannot subsidize these expenditures as easily as brokerage firms whose commission income runs high.

Managers of Money

Among the group of funds not run by brokerage firms there are some particularly intriguing problems. To take one example, how large a commitment is it proper for the fund to hold in the stock of the parent company? The Sears Roebuck Pension Fund is the largest stockholder in Sears Roebuck. In the past, Sears' shrewd management has justified this investment. Yet this may change. But the size of the Fund's holding of Sears' stock almost precludes its selling freely or quickly in the future, if required. Other potential conflicts that exist relate to the question of control. How do pension fund managers cast their votes in the event of a proxy fight? In those cases, common enough, where members of management are also on the board of the pension fund, insurgents would appear to have a particularly difficult row to hoe.

University trustees (as well as trustees of other large institutions) are often good businessmen – directors of large corporations, or partners of large banking firms. But is the corporation director free to disclose information to his fellow trustees which may be of benefit to the University? The conflict here is sharpened because of the nature of the institution which he serves. Its charitable purpose might be thought to make permissible some activities barred to individuals operating solely for personal gains.

Another problem about which non-brokerage fund managers are sensitive is the way they distribute their brokerage business. The SEC frowns on reciprocal trades – *i.e.*, the practice of distributing commission business in proportion to brokerage firms sales of the fund's shares to the public. The SEC frowns on this practice because it may thwart the free selection of issues for the fund, and to that extent may prove harmful to fund stockholders. Yet there are other considerations. If those brokers who energetically sell fund shares are rewarded, the fund may grow, may command more respect, may secure better research, and may do a better job for its holders. The dilemma arises because as the fund grows, owners of the management company also benefit – and now that many management companies are themselves publicly held, the tangle is almost beyond unraveling.

The only situation that would resolve the dilemmas mentioned (and they are but a small portion of the total) would be one where every individual investor had his own exclusive stockbroker who in turn refrained from any other kind of financial activity. But affluent as our society is, it is not *that* affluent. (Besides, who wants so many stockbrokers?)

These have been boom years for the financial community, and a full stomach encourageth an indulgent eye. But in the end, more self-regulation will be needed too, for the important reason that all the institutions of modern finance are based on a sense of professional obligation. If one did not assume this sense to exist, one could not regulate the stock market; one could only abolish it. The daily dilemmas of the stockbroker (or the fund manager) are far too various, too subtle, too urgent for him to be able to respond in any rigidly prescribed way. He has to rely on his own good judgment and his own sense of propriety. What strictly enforced rules *can* do is make him alert to his own obligations; and since he is only human, he cannot be reminded of them too often.

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The War in Vietnam

We Have Not Been Told the Whole Truth

by "Z"

Saigon

"After fighting with the French for eight years from 1946 to 1954, we got Dien Bien Phu," said a Vietnamese to an American listener in Saigon recently; "and after eight years of being nursed and trained and led by the United States, we're finally encircled in Saigon." This was said with a wry smile – unfortunately, it was no exaggeration.

For non-Communist South Vietnam had become, early in 1962, what North Vietnam had become in the tragic spring of 1954: a lacework of fortified villages and Army posts completely surrounded by a population that is either deliberately hostile, or at least terrorized by an efficient network of Communist guerrillas into cooperating with them. To be sure, convoys under heavy escort can, as in the spring of Dien Bien Phu, still ply the major roads during daytime; and the country's coastal railroad line (which, after an interruption of 14 years, had been reopened with great fanfare in 1959) can also be used, although it is being regularly sabotaged and then stays out of commission for three days at a time. But even daytime traffic on major roads is not immune from ambushes which have a twofold aim: bring about an economic blockade of Saigon, which relies for its rice, cooking charcoal and meat on the hinterland; and drive home the point to the intercepted voyagers that the Communist Viet Cong (or VC's in American parlance) can indeed run things pretty much as they wish. Just before Christmas, several groups of buses and private automobiles were intercepted within 60 miles of Saigon. In one case, two Canadian Catholic priests well-known for their sympathy for the Saigon regime were taken off the vehicle, indoctrinated in the nearby forest as to the "crimes" of the regime, made to recant their "errors" before an attentive public of villagers, and then released. A Japanese engineer, M. S. Fukkai, working at a dam being built by Japanese aid, also was kidnaped off the road and held for several weeks. While officially his kidnaping was held to be a mystery, it was not so to the informed businessmen in Saigon: "You see," said one, "the Mitsui Company [the contractor who builds the dam] was the only company which hadn't fallen into line yet and was not paying 'protection' to the VC's. They'll learn right quick now."

In any case, the French rubber planters have learned. Rubber, so far, has remained South Vietnam's "iron lung." It is the *only* export product whose tonnage has increased, rather than fallen off, and thus it becomes a vital item in the no-holds-barred revolutionary war going on in South Vietnam. Here also, the VC's soon found the weak point in the system: the French supervisory personnel. After the more or less spectacular assassination of some Vietnamese supervisors (which effectively scared off many of them as well as the essential native tappers) the VC's began to kidnap French supervisors. Every one of the large plantations was hit in turn: Michelin, SIPH, Terres Rouges, *etc.* – and every one of them paid the ransom asked: one million piastres (about $35,000 at the official rate). At first, the South Vietnamese authorities "retaliated" by fining the plantation to the same amount it had paid the Communists, but when word got around that in the absence of effective protection the plantations would just as soon shut down – thus depriving South Vietnam of its last valuable export staple – Saigon relented.

Another psychological target has been the Saigon government's youth movement *Cong-Hoa* ("Republican Youth") whose older members of both sexes have been given paramilitary training and duties. On January 10, the VC's captured in one single swoop 100 of them, dragged them off into the jungle, brainwashed them for a week, and then released all but seven. The photographs, which adroit press-agentry has circulated in every American picture magazine, of Vietnamese "gun-girls," wearing tight slacks, even tighter blouses and imported Texan ten-gallon hats along with automatic rifles and Colt .45's, gave the Vietnamese at least a chance at a hollow laugh, compounded by an unique announcement from the Press Office of the Presidency of Vietnam, on February 1, 1962, denying officially that the Viet Cong had attacked the Saigon-Hue railroad on January 27 for the express purpose of kidnaping a batch of the "gun-girls" going on home leave after

"Z" has asked that his name be withheld. ("If I were home it would be different, here it is positively dangerous.") He has for some years closely followed and written about the struggle in Vietnam.

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graduation. (During the brief period of breast-beating and promises of reform in Saigon in November, 1961, one overly-zealous legislator went so far as to advocate the abolition of "falsies" as being "incompatible with the national emergency." He quietly abandoned the project after having been apprised of the difficulties an effective control system would create and in view of the outcries of revolt from Vietnam's beautiful but notoriously flat-chested population.) It is obvious that Cong Hoa nonsense is unlikely to improve South Vietnam's "defensive posture"; it is merely going to provide the VC's with yet another source of easy-to-get American equipment. As one newspaper in neighboring Cambodia commented sarcastically: "Our anti-Communist neighbors have found a new secret weapon – they're going to *seduce* the Viet Cong guerrillas. . . ." The method has, however, certainly been successful on the American press. Its effects on the hard-bitten Communist cadres who defeated France's best paratroopers is somewhat more doubtful.

All this would be worthy of a graustarkian comic-opera along the lines of *Prisoner of Zenda* or *Call me Madam*, if thousands of Vietnamese – already joined by an increasing number of American military men and civilians – were not dying. For this is a brutal, "a grubby, dirty method of fighting," as an American Colonel was recently to say to a *Newsweek* reporter, after spending 12 fruitless days chasing after an elusive VC unit – and it is a war whose killing rate has been increasing steadily. At first, there was a steady trickle of about 30-50 dead a month in 1957-58. Late in 1959, the figure had increased to 10 a day; and in the spring of 1960 a figure of 25 a day was openly admitted in the press. In a press conference on May 5, 1961, Secretary of State Dean Rusk mentioned a figure of 3,000 "small officials" killed by the VC's in Vietnam during the previous 12 months; while in his second State of the Union message delivered before Congress May 25, 1961, President Kennedy, apparently relying on a newer set of figures, spoke of "assassins who have taken the lives of 4,000 civil officers in the last 12 months in Vietnam alone." By the end of the year, casualty figures had risen to more than 1,500 dead a month and in January, 1962, they were estimated running at a rate about double that of the previous month.

At any rate, *Vietnamese losses in this undeclared war run at about twice the rate of those suffered by the French during the Indochina war and about two-and-a-half times those suffered by the United States in Korea.* How this Missouri-sized country with its 13.5 million got that way eight years after the Geneva cease-fire theoretically restored peace to the area and after the US spent more than $2 billion there makes a long and sordid story of much inaccurate information being wrapped into even more wishful thinking and then presented to Americans and to Congress as "policy."

But in order to make America swallow the bait, the press first had to be won over – and won over it was. There has not been, with perhaps the exception of Laos, a single world crisis that has been as miserably reported upon in the United States as the state of South Vietnam since 1954. The most respected news media, conservative as well as liberal, were taken in, one by one, in one of the cleverest "intoxication" campaigns of the last few years.

The Vietnam Lobby

That the mass distribution magazines of the *Time-Life* type fell for the "Bastion-of-the-free-World" line, should not surprise; nor should the title "The Greatest Little Man in Asia" which *Reader's Digest* breathlessly pinned on President Ngo Dinh Diem. But even *Harper's* magazine carried a totally uncritical piece by Sen. Mike Mansfield, whom it described as "Diem's godfather," while Labor's *The New Leader* carried encomiums for the Saigon regime regularly from 1955 until the anti-Diem paratroop rebellion of November, 1960, after which Sal Tas proceeded to describe the South Vietnamese Government as "an autocratic, corrupt, and ineffective regime." As late as December, 1960, *The Reporter* carried an article by Wolf Ladejinsky, President Ngo Dinh Diem's own agricultural adviser, who dismissed the growing rebellion as "minor incidents of isolated malcontents." And even the scholarly magazines such as *Far Eastern Survey* and *Pacific Affairs* simply could not resist the flood of "scholarly" articles which Michigan State University (then South Vietnam's contractor for public administration and police training) poured out on South Vietnam – none of which ever found fault with anything that was going on there, much less pointing toward the danger clouds rising on the horizon.

Those few journalists or scholars who sought to buck the trend soon found themselves the target of an equally well-organized whisper and letter-writing campaign on the part of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime's lobby, the "American Friends of Vietnam," whose first honorary president was General Donovan of OSS fame and whose chairman was Angier Biddle Duke, now President Kennedy's chief of protocol at the State Department. Its present president is Lt. Gen. (Ret.) John "Iron Mike" O'Daniel, a former chief of the US Military Advisory Group (MAAG) to South Vietnam. One Vietnamese labor leader who nearly saved the Diem regime in 1955 by throwing the Vietnamese labor organization to its support, Nguyen Bao Toan, attempted to make some speeches in the US about real conditions in his country, but soon was hushed up by Washington. Another Vietnamese nationalist, Huynh Sanh

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Thong, who for years had been a language teacher at the State Department's Foreign Service Institute, was thrown out of his job at State after having written an anti-Diem letter to the *Washington Post* and later was dismissed from a job with a private broadcasting station at the request of another government agency. A respected writer from the Scripps-Howard chain, Albert Colegrove, was literally "roasted over the coals" in front of a Congressional committee for having dared to print, after a visit to the country, that aid had been handled ineffectively in many cases and that the regime itself could stand a few improvements. The hard fact that the bulk of his charges was verified one year later by a Senate Subcommittee on State Department Organization was, of course, forgotten. Serious-minded journalists who failed to toe the propaganda line – Frenchmen such as Max Clos and Lucien Bodard, Americans such as R. E. Inagaki, Britons such as David Hotham (see his "South Vietnam – Shaky Bastion" in *NR*, September 25, 1957) – were refused visas or else were expelled.

In fact, any criticism of the Saigon regime was dismissed until early 1961 as "French colonialist propaganda," or, as Joseph Alsop (who, over the past year has styled himself as the quasi-official oracle of the Diem regime) quaintly put it: "The dog-in-the-manger attitude of the French." Everything was going well in the best of all worlds, and the American press, including such stalwarts as the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, saw to it that no one was going to rock the boat.

The New Frontier and Old Saigon

In official circles, a similar attitude prevailed and the incoming administration, in spite of its predilection for the phrase "sense of urgency," did nothing to dispel the illusions of the Vietnam desk – or rather, it did nothing to free itself from the illusions which the Vietnam desk was dispensing in lieu of policy guidance. In brief, American official reporting on Vietnam had fallen victim to the dread disease of "reverse-twist loyalty"; instead of reporting to Washington what was happening in Vietnam, it reported what the Vietnamese Government *said* was happening. It was inevitable that the emotionalism with which the issue was beclouded produced that state of affairs to a certain extent (one only has to remember diplomatic reporting from the China mainland from 1944 to 1948 for an exact simile) but in the case of South Vietnam, it often produced a kind of official blindness whose completeness amounted to self-brainwashing.

Thus, as late as April, 1959 – at a time when the killing rate in Vietnam had reached around 10 per day – the then commanding general of MAAG Vietnam, Lt. Gen. S. T. Williams, testified under oath before a Senate Committee that the "guerrilla threat in Vietnam has receded to a point where one single territorial regiment could handle it." He testified to that effect *10 months after* his own ambassador, Elbridge Durbrow, had stated before the same Committee that "because of the insecurity, the peasants of the Mekong delta can no longer till their fields properly." No one, either in Congress or in the press, sought to confront such contradictory statements and draw the necessary conclusions. No one, either among the happy businessmen of the Eisenhower Administration or the eager New Frontiersmen of the Kennedy Administration, was willing to ask the truly searching questions as to whether US aid was really getting down to the people; whether the Vietnamese Army was not getting a bit over-motorized and over-headquartered for its modest size and tactical mission; and whether Ngo Dinh Diem, his family or his clique, had any popular following.

Instead, such questions as were asked dealt with innocuous substitutes whose reassuring answers were foregone conclusions. The legislative branch was happy when it felt that proper expenditure procedures had been adhered to and the proper vouchers filled, even if they were meaningless and, in any case, no index of the success of the program. (In one such case, a voucher attested to the "burning by fire" of about $4 million in local currency; whether this was likely or not had not even been challenged.) In the case of the military, the fact that the South Vietnamese Army had one by one adopted every item of US issue and chucked everything that tied it to its own military – but "colonial" – past (an idiocy no one had, thank God, tried on the Indian, Pakistani, Israeli and other ex-British forces), was considered a "great morale-builder." The French commando school, in which year after year hundreds of Vietnamese had been taught the painful art of surviving in their own jungle, was abolished to make way for a spit-and-polish "NCO Academy" which for several years turned out fine drill sergeants instead of the badly needed small-unit combat leaders. Larger units were piled upon larger units until a Vietnamese division was just a slightly scaled-down version of its US model; and senior staffs were piled upon senior staffs until that seven-division Army had, in the finest traditions of Parkinson's Law, three full Army Corps staffs, a Department of Defense staff and a General staff – and plenty of recently-appointed generals in all of them, who had very little idea of how to maneuver small mobile battle groups in the jungle but who had become very adept at currying favor with the Presidential palace.

As for the government of Ngo Dinh Diem, there were, after all, several elections to "prove" its popularity. The fact that 98 percent majorities were ob-

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tained even in areas which were patently outside government control seemed to bother no one in Washington – even when Diem's storm troopers, armed with Tommy guns, entered the country's national Assembly and threw out bodily Dr. Phan Quan Dan, an American-trained MD and PhD (Yale), who, in spite of all official threats, had run on a "clean-out-the-mess-in-Saigon" ticket in the 1959 legislative election and had won with the largest margin accorded *any* candidate in that election. Dan, accused of having participated in the abortive November, 1960, paratroop revolt, was jailed without trial and is still held in jail. Although repeatedly rumored dead, he is said to be alive and reasonably well. As much cannot be said of South Vietnam's other concentration camp prisoners, whom State Department testimony before Congress estimated at 38,000 in 1958 (*i.e., before* large-scale guerrilla fighting would have provided a pretext for excessive police state measures) and which informed sources now place at more than 150,000. With Communist guerrilla cadres and anti-Communist opponents of the regime being thrown pell-mell into the same camps, we have here all the makings of the famous "Marxist universities" (*i.e.*, prisons) from which many other countries eventually recruited their Communist leadership.

But undeterred, the American-made myth marched on. As in the tale of the Emperor's Clothes, not everyone was fooled (in fact, neither the British, the Indians nor the French ever were) but everybody professed to believe that South Vietnam in the Sixties' really was a sort of Southeast Asian counterpart of the West German *wirtschaftswunder* marching happily toward full democracy under an enlightened leadership. If anyone thinks this is a gross oversimplification of official thinking in the sophisticated Kennedy era, then he better start reading the State Department's "White Paper" on guerrilla warfare in Vietnam, where precisely those points are made in the same breathless style. Thus, the State Department report says on page 5 that "the years 1956 to 1960 produced something close to an economic miracle. Food production . . . prewar levels were achieved and passed." To this, the 1960 Mansfield report says: "There has not been any significant reduction in Vietnamese economic dependency on large aid grants from the United States, except those which coincide with Congressional reductions in appropriations. . . ." As for food production, Vietnam exported in 1935-39 an average of 1.5 million tons of rice, after having covered the internal North Vietnamese deficit of 250,000 tons. At no time since 1954 did South Vietnam export more than 200,000 tons and in 1961-62, it is actually *importing* 50,000 tons of rice from the US. The dreamland aspects of official reporting are also shown by the fact that the Mansfield subcommittee had been informed, "on the basis of the assurances of the head of the military aid mission in Vietnam, that at least . . . MAAG can be phased out in the foreseeable future." This was written at the very same moment when the first "Special Forces" anti-guerrilla teams were sent to Vietnam.

Yet all the fairytales, all the gross self-deception, the misstating of facts to Congressional committees, the brainwashing of the American press in its quasi-totality, could not wish away the brutal fact of the ever-spreading guerrilla war and of the now public incapacity of the Vietnamese Government to deal with even its political-economic aspects – let alone its military aspects.

A Revised Mythology

To cover up for the monumental failure this full-scale resurgence of guerrilla warfare represented, new myths had to take the place of old ones. Those myths began to be spread through the press and other news media with the dull repetitiveness of an African tom-tom; and here also, the various pundits and the great newspapers obediently fell into line. The farcical presidential elections of spring 1961, in which Diem allowed a 73-year-old Oriental faith healer and a former friend of Ho Chi Minh's to run against him (even so, they polled 150,000 votes out of 500,000 in Saigon, where foreigners could watch the polls) were hailed as a true expression of democracy; and when Ngo Dinh Diem responded to very timid suggestions of liberalizing his government by concentrating all its powers in three super-departments, even the *New York Times* felt that "these changes promise better operating efficiency" – as if efficiency, and not the absence of a popular base, had been the major problem of the Saigon regime!

Even the President himself was made use of to perpetuate the myth. Thus, on May 20, 1961, an article appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* under the simple title "The Report the President Wanted Published." It dealt with a small South Vietnamese village called Binh Hung, which had held out against the Communists "for years," and the President wrote a memorandum suggesting that the report (initially a classified document for God knows what reason) would make "an excellent article for a magazine like the SEP." The latter was only too happy to oblige. The fact that Binh Hung, a Catholic village inhabited by Chinese Nationalist ex-servicemen led by a priest who had been a lieutenant-colonel in Chiang Kai-shek's Army, was about as unrepresentative of conditions in the Vietnamese countryside as would be a village of *Afrikakorps* veterans in Israel, was never brought out. Neither was the follow-up that Binh Hung, badly battered by reinforced Communist groups, is now completely

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encircled and has to be fed by airdrops like a junior-size Dien Bien Phu.

By thus becoming a party to the myths that Saigon (understandably) was foisting upon the public, Washington deprived itself slowly but surely of all freedom of maneuver. Whereas in Laos it made a heroic (albeit thus far doubtfully effective) attempt not to be "sucked in" beyond the point of no return, in Vietnam it deliberately handed the Ngo Dinh Diem regime a blank check on all American economic, political and military support without asking for any hard and fast commitments in return. Beginning with the mission of Vice President Johnson in March, 1961, followed in rapid succession by the Staley and Taylor missions (the Mansfield report noted that in 1958-59, "official courtesies" were extended to visitors on 1,905 occasions – or an average of six "official" visitors a day), Washington now began to learn within a few weeks and months what had been available for it to know for the past six years: that a Communist-led and directed guerrilla movement, feeding on large-scale popular discontent in the villages, and aided by North Vietnam (but to a far less extent than is said – that again is part of the new myth), was about to take over South Vietnam directly from under the feet of the Diem regime, just as mainland China had been taken over from under the Chiang regime 15 years earlier. In Washingtonian parlance, "the town really hit the panic button." A round-the-clock unit was set up on the seventh floor of the newest of the new State Department buildings to coordinate all activities concerning Vietnam, and hotel space in Saigon became totally unavailable as an unending stream of visitors from Washington and CINCPAC began to investigate the Vietnam situation for themselves.

The New Eleven Point Program

A very brief flurry of hope followed the departure from Vietnam of General Taylor's mission. Although Taylor has been carefully "screened" from all Americans in Saigon whose views might have clashed with the official myths – notably some Michigan State University professors – he had seen and learned enough to come through with a report which in all likelihood was to advocate some deep-seated political changes. What followed was almost unique in the relations between the United States and a client government which would not survive for 10 minutes the simple news of American disapproval: the government-controlled press of South Vietnam let loose against the US a barrage of insults whose viciousness and inanity can only be matched by Peking or Havana (on particularly bad days). On November 24, 1961, Saigon's *Thoi-Bao* (The Journal) printed an eight-column headline reading "Republic of Vietnam No Guinea Pig For Capitalist Imperialism – Is It Not Time to Revise Vietnamese-American Collaboration?" A similar tack was taken by the other newspapers, and for a while it looked as if the Moment of Truth had arrived on both sides: after swallowing all sorts of insults and indignities for the privilege of being allowed to spend $2 billion – for several smaller "hate-America" campaigns had been launched earlier, whenever the dirty word "reform" was being mentioned – Washington was going to tell the Ngo Dinh Diem clique either to follow through with some real reforms or to retire to its abundant foreign investments.

But nothing of the sort occurred: *Washington simply and purely capitulated.* It announced on January 4 a new "Economic and Social Program for Vietnam," which, in view of the desperate straits in which Vietnam finds itself, must be considered as some sort of a huge joke foisted both on the Vietnamese people and the American taxpayer. Instead of promising thoroughgoing taxation reforms (which would make the rich Vietnamese pay for the war, instead of the poor farmers), a measure of liberalization of the local administration and the hard-and-fast elimination of corrupt officials, the new "11-Point Program" is the typical bureaucratic mouse born out of a huge public-relations mountain: Its points include (1) "facilities for the training of village officials" – after more than 6,000 of them were killed over the past two years, and perhaps as many as 8,000 in the past four; (2) development of "rural health" – and this after the Communists made a shambles of the anti-malaria program by killing nine team members and capturing 73 in eight months; (3) opening of "primary schools . . . in every village" – after the VC's already have rendered about 50,000 children in the Mekong delta schoolless by destroying existing schools and killing the teachers; (4) improvement of "village-to-district radio communications" – the last time this was tried the VC's had a field day getting new US transmitters; (5) "construction of new roads" at a time when the government has its hands full keeping the existing ones open after sabotages and attacks; (6) "development of agricultural credit" while the VC's go around advocating "free land"; (7) "a large-scale insect-eradication program"; (8) "special efforts for the mountain tribes" – after the Communists have been working on them for eight solid years without any counter-effort of our own; (9) "reconstruction of flooded Mekong areas"; (10) "large-scale public works to struggle against joblessness"; and (11) "pursuit of industrial development."

Having thus abandoned all hopes of "standing up" to the Diem regime, Washington topped off its total surrender by sending the new foreign aid director, Fowler Hamilton, to Saigon in mid-January, 1962.

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Hamilton, according to AP, not only was "impressed with the strength, vigor and competence of the officials" he met there, but he also assured the Diem regime that "no limit" had been fixed for the extent of America help to the embattled country and that Vietnam will be given "whatever aid is necessary" to "remain in the Free World." President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam has every right to be proud: no other ally of the United States can lay claim to have "on call" both the US Treasury and the US Armed Forces, with the latter pouring into Saigon at an increasing rate and being committed, all reassuring hairsplitting to the contrary, to combat missions. After all, "Special Forces" groups aren't exactly "logistical support units."

But again, the myth-makers are at work. They are the same myth-makers who tried for seven years to convince the American Congress and the American people that South Vietnam was the showcase of democracy, and that the Viet Cong was a congerie of isolated malcontents. They still sit at their old desks in the State Department, the Pentagon and the big metropolitan newspapers and magazines. Remembering their own earlier commitments they cannot abandon Ngo Dinh Diem. Instead they now tell us that although he is not very good, he is "the only man we've got," and that, in any case, "one doesn't change horses in midstream." At the same time, they begin to point subtly toward the Communist guerrilla wars in Malaya and the Philippines (see "Commitment in Saigon," *NR*, May 22, 1961) which lasted 12 years and eight years respectively, to prepare the American people for the kind of long "bleeding war" operation which the French had to face in Indochina and Algeria. And they keep forgetting to tell the American people that the wars in the Philippines and Malaya were won for two reasons: (1) because there was no such thing as a Communist "sanctuary" next door – as there is in South Vietnam, with Communist North Vietnam and Communist-saturated Laos; and (2) precisely because both the Philippines and Malaya had the courage to change political horses in midstream. Magsaysay and Tungku Rahman became the leaders of reform administrations in the midst of a bitter guerrilla war and led their peoples to victory.

In South Vietnam, on the other hand, the United States seeks to win the struggle by mechanical means (helicopters and weed-killers) forgetting all over again that a revolutionary war can be won only if the little people in the villages and the hills can be persuaded that they have a stake in fighting on our side. In South Vietnam, rather than "change horses" or even attempt to change the horse's manners, the United States has chosen to let itself be led into midstream by the horse itself. In horsemanship, this is a dangerous piece of foolishness. In the explosive situation in Vietnam, it can lead directly to another Korea.

Khrushchev–Challenged Leader

by Robert C. Tucker

The meeting this week of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow may prove a milestone in Soviet political history. The announced topic is agricultural administration, with Khrushchev as main speaker. But there are signs that other important matters – Sino-Soviet relations, the Molotov case, de-Stalinization – may come up. One such sign is that the opening day of the meeting, March 5, is the ninth anniversary of Stalin's death.

Many in the West have erroneously assumed that the basic difference (or one of them) between Western democracies and Communist states is that only we have political conflicts. On the contrary, it is not "monolithic" unity, but the fiction or pretense of it, that prevails in Soviet politics. The ruling group has rarely if ever been the disciplined phalanx pictured by its image-makers, and Lenin's well-known 1921 Resolution on Party Unity has largely been honored in the breach. Like a family that strives to present a harmonious front to the outside world while quarreling furiously in private, the Soviet political elite regularly preaches monolithism and practices factionalism. Hence we should not interpret the present Sino-Soviet rift as a "crack in the Communist monolith," for the monolith itself is a myth.

Periods of intense conflict behind the scenes sometimes culminate in crisis and convulsion: There was the fall of Beria in 1953, the deposition of Malenkov in

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1955, the defeat of the "anti-Party" (actually anti-Khrushchev) group in 1957, and the downfall of Marshal Zhukov later that same year. And though by 1958 Khrushchev had clearly emerged as the dominant figure, the conclusion of many foreign students of Soviet affairs that the "succession crisis" had been resolved was, and is, premature.

Khrushchev, unquestionably one of the great political operators of our age, has not yet become, in the full sense, Stalin's successor. He does not wield police-based personal dictatorial power; he is not an autocrat who stands above the need to persuade politically influential elements in the Soviet Union of the rightness of his own ideas. Of course, his dual primacy as First Secretary of the Central Committee and Premier of the Government carries very great political weight. But in dealing with Soviet politics we must always distinguish between power and "powers." The Soviet premiership or first secretaryship is not the American Presidency. The actual power of a man who holds Khrushchev's high posts cannot be inferred from the nature of the posts themselves. It rests on arrangements and factors that are in many ways informal and largely invisible – at least to us.

A good case in point is the general trend of Western commentary on last October's 22nd Party Congress. On the whole, it missed the crucial point: Khrushchev was *challenged*, and that challenge emanated from within the Soviet Union as well as from without. The Congress may be seen, I would say must be seen, as a peculiar Soviet "great debate" in which the underlying central issue was Khrushchev's leadership.

The Origins of the Challenge

On the plane of international Communism the debate has been a burning one for quite a while, and it underlies what appears on the surface to be an ideological dispute between Soviet and Chinese Communists. Not that Mao Tse-tung contested the hegemony of the Soviet Union in world Communism for the present historical period. Mao seems rather to have accepted Soviet hegemony on condition of Soviet recognition of Communist China's autonomy, special role and importance. From Mao's standpoint, that is, a good leader of Soviet Russia and the "camp" is above all one who regularly consults with Mao, heeds his views and advice, and shows every consideration for Communist China's interest in speedy industrialization, in becoming a great power with nuclear weapons, in acquiring Formosa, etc. Measured by this yardstick, Khrushchev has been a horrible failure. The Albanian dictator Hoxha, looking at it from his standpoint, came to the same conclusion long ago.

Nor is this issue of Khrushchev's leadership by any means a new one in Soviet internal politics. It lay at the core of the political crisis of June, 1957, when a majority coalition in the Party Presidium, led by Molotov (as chief prosecuting attorney), Kaganovich and Malenkov, made its unsuccessful move to unseat Khrushchev. In their indictment, Khrushchev was a reckless, impetuous and dangerously erratic "practicalist" and opportunist, a person lacking in the steadiness, restraint and doctrinal soundness that a responsible leader of Soviet policy and the whole Communist movement must at all cost possess. It was time for a change. His undignified diplomacy of rapprochement with Tito and his ill-advised secret tirade against Stalin at the 20th Party Congress – ran the argument – had helped produce the Hungarian disaster and other troubles abroad and at home. His free-wheeling contacts with non-Communist world leaders had been counter-productive. In domestic affairs he was now embarking, with his usual haste and heedlessness of difficulties, upon a vast and dubious project of regionalizing the economic administration. In agriculture he was committing immense resources to a highly questionable scheme for solving the food problem by cultivating marginal virgin land in the East; and now, to make matters laughable, he was putting forward the slogan of overtaking the US within three years in per capita meat, milk and butter production.

The opposition's case, built up along these lines, might well have carried the day had not Marshal Zhukov intervened on Khrushchev's side, apparently for reasons connected with personal hatred of the leading oppositionists. He thereby sealed his own political doom, for neither Khrushchev nor the other Party politicians could be happy about a situation in which this military man had become unofficial high arbiter of their differences and disputes. They soon found a way of removing him from political life.

In some ways the developments between 1957 and 1961 could hardly fail to enhance the respect of the Soviet Communists for Molotov's foresight. The virgin lands scheme was by now plainly in trouble, and the food situation was worse instead of better. The slogan about overtaking America in meat, milk and butter had been dropped, and Moscow foodstores were out of meat on May Day in 1961. Khrushchev's jaunty confidence in his ability to solve the chronic crisis of Russia's bureaucratized agriculture was wearing somewhat thin; yet this had always been a most potent source of his political appeal in the Party. His regionalization of the economic administration had led to strong sectionalist tendencies and other serious problems, more or less as the Molotov group had forecast. Finally, Khrushchev had given the Soviet military – who are by no means insulated from politics – serious cause for concern. He had shown a persistent tendency to pare

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down the Army and Navy where possible and an inclination to postpone further nuclear tests while negotiating with the West for a test ban. Moreover, the interests of the military group usually line them up with the heavy-industry advocates in the Party, and Khrushchev, beginning in 1960, had been swinging dangerously close to a Malenkovian philosophy of giving equal priority to consumer goods production.

But to many Soviet Communists the situation within the Communist "camp" during 1960 must have been the most disquieting thing of all. In the closed proceedings of the Bucharest meeting of Communist Party leaders in June and the Moscow meeting in November of that year, discussion of political and ideological differences degenerated into verbal violence in which the First Secretary displayed his mercurial temperament. He now became involved in a bitter personal feud with Mao Tse-tung and Hoxha. Serious cleavages within international Communism were greatly aggravated by a rupture of relations at the heads-of-party level.

Now, although no Soviet Communist could have believed by this time in the possibility of relations with no friction between Moscow and Peking, or even Tirana, few could be pleased by this ugly turn of events. Might it not, then, be a good idea for Khrushchev to take a long vacation as a way of making the conflict more manageable? For that matter, might not Molotov, the elder statesman of the Communist world, have both the stature and the strength of mind to hold the international Communist movement together, while also protecting the Soviet Union's vital interests? Such thoughts could not help but occur to many, especially if, as appears certain, Mao himself was delicately letting it be known that his relations with Khrushchev were broken beyond repair, whereas Molotov was a man held in high esteem in Communist China and one with whom he, Mao, could work fruitfully.

Such were the contours of the challenge to Khrushchev as last November's 22nd Party Congress approached. In Molotov, then sitting in Vienna and dispatching political memoranda around the Communist world, he faced not only a political arch-enemy and redoubtable opponent in many past Party battles but a potential man of power. What made him a potential power was not (so far as we know) any organized political following within the Soviet Communist Party but the growth of disillusionment in the Party with Khrushchev's leadership. Molotov's political defeat in 1957 and demotion to minor posts diminished but had not destroyed his great prestige. I, for example, recall from travels in Russia in 1958 how some provincial leaders, and younger ones at that, privately referred to Molotov in a tone of near awe as a man who "worked with Lenin." To them he seemed to represent "Mr. Bolshevik," which is not to say that they necessarily shared all his opinions.

Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, a fighter through and through and a man with a sublime belief in himself, was not one to retreat in such circumstances. He was powerful enough to act vigorously to consolidate his position, but not so powerful that he could be sure of remaining on top for long if he failed to act. So, with eager assistance from his closest supporters, he adopted at the Party Congress a strategy of offensive defense.

"Anti-Khrushchev" Becomes "Anti-Party"

A key element of that strategy was to bring into the open the conflict with the Albanian leaders – and thus implicitly with Mao. Western commentators have erred, I believe, in trying to explain this without reference to Soviet internal politics. So long as the quarrels with Peking and Tirana remained unadmitted or unofficial realities, Khrushchev was uncomfortably expendable in a move of reconciliation. By the same token, he would have less reason to fear a movement in the Party to improve inter-party relations at his expense if the Party committed itself, publicly and formally, to his side. The anti-Khrushchev elements in Peking, Tirana and elsewhere in the world movement would thereby become "anti-Party" groups as it were; their quarrel would no longer be with him and his

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group (as they preferred and still prefer to see it) but with the CPSU and a great majority of the other Communist parties.

It was with this calculation in mind that Khrushchev called upon the Congress in his closing speech to "assert its authoritative opinion" in the Albanian matter, and it did so, though probably not so strongly as he wished. But although Khrushchev thus strengthened himself internally, he did so at the cost of aggravating tensions within world Communism. To drive this latter point home was the aim of Chou En-lai, who first rebuked Khrushchev for publicizing Communism's inner conflicts, then insulted him by laying a wreath on Stalin's bier, and finally walked out of the Congress.

Slander as Campaign Literature

The other main element of the Khrushchevian battle strategy was the ferocious vilification of the erstwhile opposition leaders and of Molotov in particular. Whereas one group of Party leaders (including Mikoyan) confined themselves to polemics against Molotov's "conservative-dogmatic" political views, Khrushchev and his closest confederates went all out to cover "Mr. Bolshevik" with mud and blacken his name forever in the annals of Communism. Their obvious aim was to eliminate him once and for all as a potential rallying point for an anti-Khrushchevian movement.

To this end they depicted him as a mean and heartless villain, a "political corpse," a low scheming political intriguer, a nitwit, a virtual warmonger opposed to the policy of coexistence, a bumbling bureaucrat who indeed "worked with Lenin" but so inefficiently that Lenin was quite unhappy about it, and finally, an accomplice of Stalin's in many of the latter's most heinous crimes during the Great Purge of the 1930's. The latter argument involved them, of course, in a resumpton of the anti-Stalin campaign of the 20th Party Congress, with the difference that this time the recounting of Stalin's crimes was performed not in secret session but in public, culminating in the amazing traumatic episode in which the resolution on the removal of Stalin's body from the mausoleum in Red Square was adopted. Khrushchev and his men were led by the logic of the internal political struggle to inform the population publicly and in gruesome detail that it had been ruled for many years by a psychopathic murderer, and that many of the highest officers of the government, headed by Foreign Minister Molotov, had been his knowing helpers. Questions affecting the very legitimacy of the existing regime were thus raised in the minds of the people, and there is no telling what the ultimate outcome of this will be.

One of the main events of the 22nd Party Congress was the series of Soviet nuclear tests that accompanied it. These tests, including the monstrous 50 or more megaton climax, appear to have been, among other things, an argument in the great debate. Khrushchev openly hinted at this by stating in one of his speeches that he would have been a "poor leader" if he had not ordered the tests. They were one way of cementing support of the Soviet military group. The same motive was reflected in his emphasis on rehabilitation of *military* victims of Stalin's Great Purge. This is not to say that the military men are running Soviet internal politics, but it is clear that their desires can be important in the event of a power struggle within the Party.

Finally, there was audible in the polemics of the Khrushchev group a defensive note. While denouncing the cult of Stalin's personality, the followers extolled the virtues of Khrushchev as a leader "of the Leninist type." His son-in-law Adzhubei even contributed an apologia for the shoe-pounding episode of 1960 at the United Nations, and since this episode had never before been mentioned publicly in Russia we may be sure that he was replying to Party critics.

Khrushchev himself was his own stoutest defender, right down to the closing speech in which he discouraged a Khrushchev cult and argued that he was and would be faithful to "collective leadership" and that any serious errors of the recent past should be ascribed to the Central Committee and not to him as an individual. The general line was to depict Khrushchev as a "staunch Leninist" who had cleansed the Augean stables of Stalinist Soviet society, overcoming the resistance of Molotov and other black reactionary elements who wanted to cover up past misdeeds because of their personal implication in them and who would, if they could, turn the Soviet clock back.

It is very important for Westerners to realize that all this was and is Soviet "political talk," partisan political argument – which is not to deny that it may contain a grain of truth. As in all political debate, however, the main aim was to define the issues in a manner favorable to one's own side and unfavorable to the opposition. Since Molotov's voice went unheard, we must reserve judgment to some extent regarding his actual position. Indeed, as we now wait for events to unravel the only thing we can be sure of is that not only within the international Communist movement but also inside the Soviet Communist Party the political struggle goes on – and will go on. We are confronted here with a political system that in some ways is extremely backward; for example, in its lack of mechanisms for the orderly transfer of power from one leadership group to another. The system's inner conflicts radiate into all aspects of its policy, including foreign relations, and that is one of the sources of the exasperating inconsistencies of conduct and the oscillations of policy that frequently try our patience.

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From Upper-Upper to Lower-Lower

by Staughton Lynd

C. Wright Mills has called modern American social science "an elaborate method of insuring that no one learns too much about man and society." Mills argues that the great tradition of George, Bellamy and Veblen has disgraced itself by turgid definition-splitting on the one hand, and the statistical exegesis of trivia on the other.

This assessment will not quite do in the case of Lloyd Warner. To be sure, there is no lack of meaningless diagrams, over-elaborate statistics, and commonplace definitions insisted on at length, in *American Life: Dream and Reality*. But in contrast to many another great name in sociology, Warner has hold of an important problem.

American Life: Dream and Reality
by W. Lloyd Warner
(Chicago – cloth, $6.50; paper, $1.95)

The problem is the meaning of socio-economic classes in American society. Readers who know nothing else of Warner are familiar with his classification of American society into six classes, from "upper-upper" through "lower-lower." In this book, Warner rehearses that conception and the techniques whereby persons are sorted into the six categories, but in addition he views the American class system from a number of fresh viewpoints. He attempts to show us what it means to be born into the working-class, at home, at school and (in the relatively rare cases when working-class children make it) college, in the factory, at the lodge, before the TV screen. Since the official ideology of the Establishment denies the very existence of class stratification, Warner's persistent concern with this reality is most welcome.

"The primary and most important fact about the American social system," Warner states, "is that it is composed of two basic, but antithetical principles: the first, the principle of equality; the second, the principle of unequal status and of superior and inferior rank." The hypothesis behind much of the research here reported was "that the occupational and class hierarchies were closing, that there was less mobility now and a development of fixed status for the individual and a closed class system for the society in general."

In pursuit of this significant quarry, Warner plunges in and out of intellectual thickets. Child-rearing, the learning process, and the sociology of work, prejudice, entrepreneurship, and the mass media, have all become specialized fields with their appropriate lingos and jealous priests. Warner, blandly asserting that his problem requires the application of all relevant disciplines, proceeds to levy on each of these techniques. The design of his research has always been to approach a medium-sized American community as if it were a tribe of Arapesh or Zuni.

The obvious pitfall is the danger (in Ruth Benedict's words) "of treating modern stratified society as if it had the essential homogeneity of a folk culture." Warner knows this, and spends a chapter of *American Life* defending the study of the community as a "representative microcosm" of the larger society. Inevitably, such essentially national phenomena as the power elite, the permanent war economy, or the making of American foreign policy, slip through Warner's net. Yet the wonder is that, as we follow Lloyd Warner from doorstep to doorstep of "Yankee City," "Jonesville," and "Deep South," we learn so much.

The book begins badly with an inane chapter on Memorial Day as an American sacred rite. The reader is asked to believe that

> ". . . at the conclusion of the ceremony, when the entire collectivity moves physically from diversity and extension, spread thinly throughout the city, into the inclosed, confined, consecrated unity of the receptacle (the cemetery as depicted in the chart), the celebrants themselves and their great ceremony symbolically incorporate the full spiritual power of the cemetery as a sacred symbol system."

To me (I have always spent Memorial Day eating hot dogs at double-headers), this passage is a ghastly instance of what can happen when anthropological concepts are mechanically applied to a modern society. What Warner is getting at, one learns later in the book, is the American attempt to cope with religious diversity by creating certain non-denominational secular holidays (Thanksgiving and Memorial Day) with vague religious overtones. Patriotic associations like the American Legion, according to Warner, are unique among American voluntary associations in drawing members from all social classes; hence, Memorial Day is a peculiarly fitting rite of unity for the American people. Surely the fact is that there are almost no common occasions or experiences – with the partial exception, as Warner rightly observes, of war – which draw all Americans together at a level other than superficial. (More noteworthy than Warner's analysis of Memorial Day itself is his side-comment in this chapter on Abraham Lincoln as the American symbol of *both* success *and* equality: the man who had risen to considerable wealth, an aristocratic wife, and friends of "prominence and prestige," who yet as Honest Abe, the rail-splitter, came to represent also the common man and the American faith in equality.)

The initial study of Memorial Day is marred by an excessively non-committal attitude toward war. "Those who believe," Warner writes, "that a war's hatreds can bring only evil to psychic life might well ponder the therapeutic and satisfying effects on the minds of people who turn their once private

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hatreds into social ones and join their townsmen and countrymen in the feeling of sharing this basic emotion in common symbols. Enemies as well as friends should be well chosen. . . ." Is this science? Or does it show the obtuseness of the student of the grassroots toward the larger realities of our nuclear age?

The middle chapters, dealing with the expression of class differences in the home and school and factory, are the most substantial. They are preceded by an interesting discussion of the American "caste" system of discrimination by color. Warner brings forward evidence to demonstrate that segregation in Chicago, while weaker than in Natchez, Mississippi, is yet very real. Housing in Chicago is more separated, according to Warner's findings, than in Natchez. Following Myrdal, Warner makes much of the fact that the Negro is no longer always lower-class as well as lower-caste, and predicts that the anomaly of the upper-class lower-caste Negro must sooner or later effect present attitudes toward intermarriage. In conclusion he remarks (very properly in my opinion) that steady progress toward integration cannot be taken for granted, yet at present "the Negro is rapidly moving into the main current of American life." A fine sentence follows: "All men everywhere must be brothers, either in the deadly sibling rivalry and bloodshed of Cain and Abel or in a comradeship of mutual aid and mutual respect."

As to the reality of class in the home, school and factory, Warner concludes that class differences are real and growing stronger. Upper-middle-class mothers are more permissive verbally toward their children, but often more rigid in practice, than mothers of the lower-class. Very few children from lower-class families get to college: they are blocked not only financially, but by subtle discrimination from teachers (overwhelmingly middle-class in origin) and classmates (who, for example, perceive middle-class children as brighter and cleaner than lower-class children, regardless of objective realities). Higher education being the gateway to social mobility, it follows that study of the social origins of business executives shows some half of them the sons of businessmen. In the factory, finally, the machine has destroyed the old hierarchy of skills which enabled a new workman to aspire toward a series of upward steps. Contrary to the many studies which stress the absorption of American workingmen in a class-blind mass culture, Warner emphasizes the growing social distance between worker and boss: "With advances in technology and the development of big-city capitalism, the social distance between workers and management has been increasing, and we seem to be witnessing the emergence of an industrial working class." This will be news to social scientists who have been proclaiming the disappearance of the proletariat.

Warner's conclusion that class segregation in America is increasing, not decreasing, is the more striking because he himself is so conservative. "To strengthen the American people's belief in their way of life and to continue their faith in a traditionally free society, it is necessary," he writes, "that the two basic routes of mobility – occupation and education – be open." Again: "So long as the group is successful in attaching new organisms to the social system and provides them with adequate personalities which relate themselves to the several parts of the group, the present form of society is likely to persist." Once more: "Females in American society . . . have learned by rewards and punishment, from birth to sexual maturity, to conform to the rigid conventions of 'middle-class' culture. . . . Should they fail [to], American society, as we now know it, would not continue."

An obvious apprehension is at work also in Warner's interest in "social persistence" rather than social change. Nowhere in this book, save perhaps in the chapter of race prejudice, is there a vision sketched out of what America might be, nowhere is curiosity exhibited toward the really different persons and movements that may be the seeds of the future. Instead one finds a ponderous insistence that the ambivalent American belief in justice *and* hierarchy, equality *and* success is just as it should be.

In chapters on business executives and lower-middle-class consumers of soap opera, Warner outlines a contrast of personality types. The business executives value "accumulation and

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achievement, self-initiation of action, individual autonomy, . . . never ceasing activity." The soap-opera listeners, on the other hand, "are family-centered, highly-routinized, and rigidly controlled by intellectual and moral outlooks; their responses are psychologically stereotyped and repetitive and sociologically traditional and conventional." Warner comments: "These non-mobile, lower-middle-class housewives, who rigidly define their world in terms of the past and cling to it, clearly are the exact opposite of the upper-middle-class, mobile men [earlier described]."

Yet the housewife and the businessman Warner describes are not exact opposites. For the businessmen, his research shows, have "a great fear of failure," they "harbor a rather pervasive feeling that they may not really succeed." Just so the housewives "are definitely insecure when they have to deal as autonomous beings with the larger world," "fear that they will be unable to control their personal lives and that this will bring disaster upon them," and feel "deep apprehension of the unknown." That Warner's businessmen (like many other Americans) cope with their fears by compulsive activity and that his housewives (like many other Americans) cope with their fears by clinging compulsively to an accustomed routine, is less important than the fact that both, as he describes them, seem more driven by fear than by love, more stimulated by apprehension than by joy. Just so Warner himself, as he probes the dreams and realities of American life, seems burdened by fear for the American future. Perhaps the incessant statistical manipulation and withdrawn theorizing which Mills criticizes in American social science, might also be viewed as fear-reactions to a social reality unconsciously sensed as overpowering and black. Perhaps we citizens need to ask the social scientists, Are there no other dreams but nightmares?

Chronicles of Congress

by Gerald W. Johnson

This is one of those rare books of which it may be said that on the day of publication they became authoritative. It is, to a certain extent, a companion piece to the same author's *The Legislative Process in Congress*, the present work being a more detailed examination of that process in the House, with additional material tracing the historical development of the existing procedure.

History of the House of Representatives
by George B. Galloway
(Crowell; $7.50)

It is not a book for casual reading, rather a text for students – not sophomores, to be sure, but persons with stronger reasons than the average man has for understanding in fairly minute detail the operations of the popular chamber. To these, however, it is invaluable for Mr. Galloway is one of the few men in the country who are really qualified to deal with the subject. For at least seventeen years he has, in the most literal sense, lived with Congress, beginning in 1945 as staff director of the LaFollette-Monroney Committee, and since 1946 as senior specialist in American government on the staff of the Library of Congress. Better preparation for writing a book of this kind can hardly be imagined, and the thoroughness of that preparation is evidenced on every page.

He is, however, rather chronicler than historian. He does, indeed, organize his material by subject, not by chronological sequence, and he offers an occasional observation of his own, usually of such non-controversial tenor as that Reed and Cannon wielded the power of the Speakership in an arbitrary and sometimes tyrannous fashion, and that certain rules and traditions had to be abandoned because they gave rise to vicious abuses. As a rule, however, he presents the facts without comment, leaving it to the reader to draw his own conclusions.

Nevertheless, the most casual reader, assuming that he has intellectual energy enough to draw an inference, may find between the covers of this admittedly pedestrian volume precipitants of all three elements of Greek tragedy, wonder, and terror, and awe. For it is essentially a long exposition of the way the path of this republic has been beset "with pitfall and with gin," to such an extent that the mere fact that, after a hundred and seventy-three years, we survive, and in middling good condition at that, is cause certainly for astonishment and perhaps awe.

Galloway's book has the curious quality of being available to both sides of the great debate. The enemies of democracy can find in its pages substantial evidence to prove that everything they have said against the democratic theory is true. Yet friends of democracy can cite the identical passages to support their contention that this is the one form of government that is invulnerable, even to its own follies. Naturally, neither way is the proof conclusive for friend and enemy agree that democracy is at this moment facing entirely new tests, probably of a severity unmatched by any of those it has successfully passed. "The past is prologue," without doubt, but whether to triumph or catastrophe is still anybody's guess.

Perhaps, though, the deepest impression this book makes upon the non-studious reader is that of the extraordinary complexity and obscurity of the task that our national legislators face. Politicians, as a class, are so wondrously adept at attributing merit to themselves that the layman feels no pressing obligation to assist them in that enterprise. Yet in reading Galloway one can hardly escape the conviction that, taking the whole outfit, lock, stock and barrel, the men we have sent to Washington since 1789 must have averaged higher than we have been willing to believe – higher in ability and, let us face the startling fact, appreciably higher in common honesty.

The book is illustrated with thirty photographs of eminent Congressmen of the past, and these constitute a feature of exceptional interest, not aesthetic, but archaeological. Madison, Clay, and Sam Rayburn one expects, but who else would have thought of dredging up Fisher Ames and Samuel J. Randall? Yet why not? They shone, once, even though it is long since they dipped below the horizon.

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The Dixon-Yates Scandal

by Richard L. Strout

At a cocktail party (which is Washington's radar screen) an exuberant utility man boasted that the Dixon-Yates people had a friend in the Budget Bureau. Who was it—who could it be? The Eisenhower anti-TVA drive was winning; the friends of TVA were desperate. The cocktail leak promptly appeared in Drew Pearson's column and *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, but no name was given, nobody knew the name. Democratic chairman Steve Mitchell spread the rumor round town and hinted a "scandal" right at the 1954 Bar Association meeting. It made Eisenhower so angry that he told the press they could go to Rowland Hughes' Bureau of the Budget and Lewis Strauss' Atomic Energy Commission and "get the complete record."

Dixon-Yates
A Study in Power Politics
by Aaron Wildavsky
(Yale; $6.75)

Feverish activity at these two agencies followed. Lesser Budget officials asked Hughes if The Name should be mentioned? Hughes did what he repeatedly did through the whole strange episode, he lied by omission. He left out The Name. He told the Kefauver committee later there was "no intention to mislead anyone." The principal man he misled was the unfortunate Eisenhower. Again and again the President was to tell things to the press which were immediately shown to be false.

The D-Y contract was signed. Nothing could stop it now but the discovery of some taint of immoral or illegal conduct. The staff of the Budget Bureau knew The Name but they were admonished to be silent; when somebody mentioned it at a closed conference he was curtly reprimanded.

There was a subpoenaed memorandum written by a utility man which contained the colorless comment, "Mr. Wenzell rejoined me in our office . . . when he had finished his day with the Budget Bureau people." Nobody noticed it at the Senate committee hearing though when it was referred to again a reporter afterwards remembered Eugene Yates muttered, "Jesus Christ, that memorandum."

Sometime in February 1955, Joseph Volpe Jr., an attorney for the State of Tennessee which was fighting D-Y, reread the memorandum several times. He had not noticed the name before. He checked through employees of private power companies; no clues to the man. Next, since the First Boston Corporation, one of the largest underwriters of utility securities in the nation, had been briefly mentioned, he checked there. What was this? Adolphe H. Wenzell was a vice president and a director as well!

Volpe's problem was to establish Wenzell's connection with the Budget Bureau without giving Hughes or the utilities opportunity to cover up. Holding his breath he had a girl in his office casually call a subordinate Budget personnel clerk. In a few minutes he knew that Wenzell had been employed by the bureau. He took the information to Senator Lister Hill (D, Ala.) who demanded that Hughes explain the matter – in writing.

Hughes had personally called Wenzell back to work secretly for the Bureau, January-April, 1954, after an earlier stint, May-September, 1953, wrote Hill that Wenzell was merely employed as a consultant to former Budget Director Dodge for "34 days." On February 18 Senator Hill rose in the Senate and made the disclosure: they had found The Man.

Two staff members of Senate committee, forewarned of the Hill speech, listened to it. They believed Wenzell had probably attended meetings of the Atomic Energy Commission, which the pliable Chairman Strauss had made the center of the intrigue against TVA. They jumped into a cab, went to the security officer at the AEC and demanded copies of every security pass that had been issued to Wenzell. No, said the officer. The committee staff man tried a bluff – he said Senator Hill knew Wenzell had been at AEC; if there was no record of his visits the security officer would be charged with serious violations of security procedures. The officer wilted; nobody was going to get him on that rap, he said. Two hours later the Senate investigator had photostatic copies of Wenzell's security passes. And six years later the Supreme Court ruled that the Dixon-Yates contract was invalid from the start because of a conflict of interest involving Adolphe Wenzell.

In the meantime there was a pitiful exhibition of Rowland Hughes telling half truths and a President trapped in them. Why was Wenzell's name omitted from the "complete" chronology? It was not concealment, said Hughes, he had not considered the matter important. Hughes sent a copy of Senator Hill's attack to Eisenhower and passed on the conclusion that the allegations were not true.

Later on, when a young AEC attorney prepared an analysis and concluded that Wenzell's action invalidated the contract Chairman Strauss sent for the attorney's security clearance file to find out if he were subversive.

In retrospect it makes a good detective story though that is not the form in which it appears in this valuable

ADLAI E. STEVENSON
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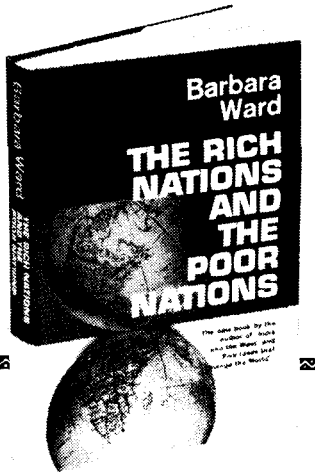

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but painfully detailed study that sounds like an expanded graduate dissertation. The author is self-consciously impartial, he "rejects any imputation of corruption" but then says in effect that the President and his banking advisers (Dodge, Strauss and Hughes were all ex-bankers) were so blinded by prejudices that they believed every evil against TVA and every good of their own followers. They lived in a "hot house atmosphere" causing them to react compulsively in "an irrational set pattern." Nor is it sufficient to say that the President was "misled" by his advisers, says Professor Wildavsky; "he did nothing to remove his advisers or to correct the flow of misinformation that multiplied his difficulties."

And in the end Eisenhower sacrificed the unfortunate private utility companies whom he had originally invited into the anti-TVA intrigue. It was his Administration which brought Wenzell in, but he made Dixon-Yates the scapegoats with a refusal to permit them to recover some $1.87 million in out-of-pocket expenses which "they had incurred in meeting the President's desire."

The "Crossroads Africa" Experiment

by Lyman H. Legters

"Crossroads Africa was conceived as an effort to involve growing numbers of young people – undergraduate, graduate and professional – in a face-to-face relationship of some depth with their counterparts on the African continent, especially in the emerging nations of that continent." So states the Rev. James H. Robinson, founder and director of the enterprise, in his Foreword to this book. The avowed purposes of the program – to provide carefully selected participants with educational experience in Africa, to encourage them to pursue African studies or work in Africa, and to establish the initial bonds of friendship and understanding – were focused largely on the young American participants, secondarily on the Africans they would encounter, and only by indirection on improvement of "the American image" in the new African states.

Emergent Americans
A Report on "Crossroads Africa"
by Harold R. Isaacs
(John Day; $3.50)

The first project of this kind was carried out in 1958. The second, which Mr. Isaacs accompanied as observer, occurred in 1960 and involved 183 young American men and women. They were divided into several smaller groups and sent to various places in West Africa to set up work camps and carry out projects agreed upon in advance by the director and the host communities. The groups, which included both Northern and Southern whites and Negroes, were joined upon arrival by counterpart teams of Africans with whom they were to live and work, with whom, above all, they were to learn to communicate. For the primary aim, without belittling the value of work accomplished, was to foster understanding through the encounters of culturally disparate human beings. Significantly, the chosen few out of some 700 applicants "had to pay $875 for the privilege of traveling to Africa to toil in the sun."

Mr. Isaacs is an exceptionally penetrating observer. His findings are decidedly relevant to any enterprise, private (like Crossroads) or public (like the Peace Corps), which engages the "emergent Americans" of the title in interaction with alien societies and cultures. (*Emergent Americans*, incidentally, is the author's incisive expression for the first generation of Americans sufficiently free of a sense of mastery over the earth to enter successfully into collaboration with its many peoples in building a new world.)

In tracing and assessing the experiences of the Crossroaders, Mr. Isaacs employed some of the apparatus of quantitative or behavioral research, but his questionnaires were only a tool and one has the comforting feeling that their disclosures would never get in the way of his own keen perceptions. His subjects were dedicated and service-oriented. Given their destination, it is clear that they were not disposed to racial intolerance. But they were not especially well-informed, and there was no time for intensive preparation. Consequently the actual encounter with markedly different habits and values, with the squalor of postcard fame, and with conditions that directly interfered with their own habits and preferences not infrequently produced a species of culture shock. Most of them retained their basically sympathetic frame of mind despite the need to readjust preconceptions. The Crossroaders apparently left favorable impressions behind them, and many friendships survived beyond the date of departure. A number have returned to Africa in some fashion or have begun to prepare themselves academically for renewed contact with Africa. The

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author concludes that, despite the slight edge in performance for the younger and more religiously-motivated, successful adaptation to such a challenge is an individual matter involving qualities such as vigor, imagination, and sensitivity for which there are no foolproof tests. As to procedure, however, "Whether it be multi-billion-dollar government aid programs, the Peace Corps, or a little private enterprise like Crossroads, the same rule holds: blessed is not the benefactor but he who participates with all his might in self-help." Not the least of the book's virtues is that it deals with the worrisome but seldom discussed problem of dietary habits: "It is not a bad thing to be flexible about these matters, but it is absurd for anybody to feel . . . that he is some kind of ethnocentric boor because he prefers his own kind of food. . . . This is partly a matter of taste, and taste is partly a matter of one's culture; and let not the emergent American be the only man so poor that he does not have, by right, a taste and a culture of his own."

MOVIES

Prisoners and the Law

Tomorrow Is My Turn
(Showcorporation)
Victim (Pathé-America)

André Cayatte, a French lawyer turned film-maker, is naturally interested in themes of prison and punishment. His best-known work is *We Are All Murderers*, a film about the guillotine that lingers in the back of the mind like a grim, unresolved chord. Now, in *Tomorrow Is My Turn*, he deals with French prisoners-of-war in Germany.

A former pastry-cook (Charles Aznavour) and a former journalist (Georges Riviere) are captured early in the war and are impressed as farm laborers. The journalist uses the susceptibility of the farmer's daughter to help him escape; Aznavour refuses to join him, out of concern for the girl's feelings. The journalist gets back to Paris, works for the underground, is captured, and is saved by the intercession of his mistress, who accommodates a German commander. After the war, the journalist is ironically prevented from marrying his savior; the baker, fed up with his shrewish Parisian wife, leaves her to return to the German farm-girl.

Much could be said of Cayatte's technical finesse: his power of understatement; his sense of rhythm which tells him unfailingly when to speed and to linger; his extraordinary editing skill which allows him to intercut the stories of the two men, after they separate, with no slightest lapse of control or unity. But all these matters, which would distinguish lesser men, only implement Cayatte's chief quality: intense concern with the fact as well as the condition of humanity. Each of his characters lives with a dogged individuality that is built on the director-author's intense humane concern for that person's fellowship or lack of it. The collaborationist Parisian editor who blooms under the swastika is understandable if unattractive – no straw man. The Germans are treated in a way that creates healthy discomfit in us about stock images of Germans.

But, despite its general merits and the excellence of many individual scenes, the film is not successful. It is only good enough to make us ask why it isn't better. For me, Aznavour's story is too predictable – *Grand Illusion* warmed over without the social and political implications that make Renoir's film large. Besides, nothing really happens to this selfless, patient little man; he plods along in Paris, he plods along in Germany. The only dramatic progress is in the Germans who gradually discover his virtues. As for Riviere's story, its relevance to the other strand is obscure. Is it that his cruelty to the German girl is justified by his subsequent action – that a doer hurts people while the nice guys would still be prisoners if it weren't for the doers? Or is it an example of the paradoxes of war? (After fighting for freedom, he is told he must circumscribe that freedom; he must resign his job if he marries a former collaborator.) But even this point is cloudy. He doesn't insist that he has the right to marry anyone he likes, he tries to prove that his girl collaborated only to save him – a much smaller, more conventional point. Neither way does it relate clearly to the baker's story.

Aznavour, celebrated as a cabaret singer, is no actor but an appealing person. Riviere supplies the exact mixture of devotion leavened with selfishness and fakery. But the best acting is offered by Cordula Trantow as the harshly used *maedchen* who comes to love the less attractive of the two prisoners. Her performance is one of the many affecting elements in this well-made but unfocussed film.

The British like to use the thriller as a medium for serious subjects, but the risk in the method is that the thriller may take over from the subject. Thus *Victim* turns out to be much more about homosexual blackmail than about homosexuality.

A rising London barrister (Dirk Bogarde), married, is harassed by a gang who prey on homosexuals by means of

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photographs taken with a telephoto lens. In Bogarde's case he is technically innocent, but the implications of the photo are harmful, and the implicated youth commits suicide. The barrister resolves to unmask the ring of blackmailers and, in doing so, discover some facts about other men he knows, as well as about himself.

The authors, Janet Green and John McCormick, who used race relations in their earlier thriller *Sapphire*, are not sensationalists; so the nervous, who want to know first whether a film like *Victim* is done with "taste," can rest easy. It has not been done cheaply or crudely; neither has it been done with any significant truth. The hero, now and in his Cambridge days, never committed a homosexual act, was merely tempted – thus is an authors' convenience, not a valid protagonist; the most common of "enlightened" commonplaces about deviates are liberally uttered; and the whole question is treated as if society's sole injustice to homosexuals is in making them liable to blackmail. (Surely an English or American lawyer and political aspirant would be little less vulnerable to blackmail if he were photographed with a mistress.) The existence of statutes aimed specifically at homosexuals is in itself unjust, reflecting social and other prejudices that would still continue to exist if every blackmailer were to disappear overnight.

Meanwhile (and a long meanwhile it will be), this venture gets so entangled in clues and false clues and chase mechanics that, although it is slickly done, it is irrelevant to its theme.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

ART

That Pleasant Land

Turner and Constable together are the full flower of British landscape painting and the top of the show, "English Drawings and Water Colors," which has just opened at the National Gallery of Art and is due at the Metropolitan on April 16. There is an excellent reason to see the show in Washington rather than New York, if you have a choice. In Washington it has been doubled in size by the loan of 100 items from the Paul Mellon Collection. This material does not really extend the scope of the 100 from British Collections, which lenders start with the Queen and include a dozen top institutions. Mr. Mellon, who lives in the Squire Western country of Virginia, began his collection a few years ago as an accessory to that area's passion for horses and hunting. Happily, the material has grown beyond that interest and now parallels the show from England. But there is still a remembrance of the original specialty, including a relatively straight Rowlandson hunt scene – none of Gilray's comments on life in the saddle, by the way, intrude on the high seriousness of horsiness in the show – and most notably the earliest picture on view, a prancing, Roman, Renaissance horse by Inigo Jones, and a more natural version by Stubbs. The Inigo Jones picture is interesting not only as a glimpse of what happened to the Renaissance when it belatedly crossed the Channel, namely the reduction of the fabled steeds of Donatello and Verrocchio to creatures to be carved for a carousel, but even more as a pre-existing standard against which the whole achievement of the great century of British water color can be measured. The trouble with Jones' merry-go-round horse is not that Jones was an inferior artist; he was at least the equal of all but a handful of the later artists in the show; but in the drawing as in his architecture he was trying to pass himself off as an Italian and the attempt has about the same effect as his name.

By contrast, the people in the rest of the show are unabashedly English and the first thing they're English about is their love of the English land. This is one of the notes that has always distinguished the English from the British and here it is the heart of English drawings and water colors as distinguished from British painting. The affinity between the English and water color has long been recognized. Much of that affinity rests on the mechanical facts of production. It's easier to pack a water color box about with you than to lug the equipment for oil painting. And behind that is the fact that these English artists wanted to go about in the first place. Whatever the strictly aesthetic peaks reached by Constable and Turner, the first achievement of the whole school is that it convinces us at a glance that it is an admirable thing to be English and to be at large in the English land.

Nature is totally man-shaped in these pictures. So much is this so that it seems but a small step from the ploughed field by Cotman to a view of Bath by Malton. The field no less than the town is the result of man's labors on nature's gift. The town no less than the field acknowledges the natural bounty – green fields and high sky – upon which man builds. John Ruslin's coastal scene plays off close-in tidal

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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rocks against the background cliffs of Dunbar; both elements are fairly untainted by man, but it is the man, Ruskin, who sees the relationship and so places himself, his paper, his pen and his brushes that, forever, we can see it too. Constable's almost Wagnerian view of the weather at Stoke-by-Nayland is nevertheless centered on the old church rising out of the land to meet the sky. In Turner's misty morning on the Grand Canal, the palaces do indeed begin to melt into the paint of water and sky but to the end Turner is keenly aware that generations of men built inspiredly so that this melting might take place for Turner and for those who since have seen Venice after his introduction.

In this beautiful exhibition, the English finally convince us that art is so closely wed to nature that the small part of nature studied by psychiatry is never enough for art.

FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

Place Your Bets

Sirs:

Which of these leading contenders will win the 1962 National Book Awards? asks an advertisement in *The New Republic* of March 5. It goes on to list 12 novels, 13 works of non-fiction, and 13 volumes of poetry, all published in 1962. From these lists of distinguished books, the advertisement adds, three panels of judges are about to decide which three are the "most distinguished."

Apparently by design, this competition has been cast as a horse race. Thus the judges have "narrowed their field," the spectators are alerted to be at the finishing post on Tuesday, March 13; the authors are listed with their publishers, exactly as horses are listed.

Which of these leading contenders will win? The question, posed by the sponsors, invites us to search for the stands where bookies may be found crying: . . . "two to one on Salinger in the first race! . . . four to five on Lewis Mumford in the second! . . . twenty to one on Horace Gregory in the third!"

From the spectators' point of view, there is only one flaw in this spectacle: authors are not race horses.

Race horses are bred and trained to race. They are fed oats and exercised in order to make them run faster, and when they run, their performances are subject to precise measurement. Authors on the other hand, create worlds of their own invention. To say that one of these worlds is more "distinguished" than another, is about as meaningful as saying that Venus is more distinguished than Mars.

Horses are rather stupid as animals go; still, they have feelings. Some at least feel exhilarated when they win, and suffer in spirit when they bring up the rear. Authors are more complicated. Granted that the winner is pleased, who will undertake to measure the disappointment endured by all the also-rans? And disappointment may be too mild a word. Moses Hadas has reminded us of the anguish suffered by the Greek playwrights when they were cast against each other in the first of these literary games.

Not only the losers but the winners are likely to suffer in these contests, in which they are entered without their knowledge or consent. For the art spirit and the spirit of competition stand in basic antagonism to each other. The artist, in all creative endeavors, is impelled by a sense of his own uniqueness, and of his relationship, not to his "rivals," but to the whole world around him.

The sponsors of the National Book Awards are in the business of selling books. It is too much to expect that they will desist from their efforts to

"INSTEAD OF *negotiating with the Common Market, we sent Chester Bowles on a five-day visit to Cairo, presumably to arrange further gifts to Nasser in thanks for his anti-Western denunciation of the Common Market; and we sent Monsieur Robert Kennedy on a sixty-day visit to Sukarno, ostensibly to tell him we love the Dutch, whom he's attacking, but most probably to tell him there's fresh cash available, if he lays off New Guinea.*"

From the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Write to Dept. R-1, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N.Y.

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reduce the writing of books to the rules they know and earn their living by. It is too much also to expect that the winners of the awards will follow the example of Sinclair Lewis and scorn the thousand dollars that is given out in prize money.

The system seems to rest upon the judges. Why is it that men who are themselves writers – Mark Van Doren and Herbert Gold, to name two of this year's judges – lend themselves to enterprises of this kind?

Michael Straight
Alexandria, Virginia

Anonymous Snobbery

Sirs:

The article by Alfred Sherman entitled "The Mood in Algeria," (February 26) alleges that "a large proportion of Algeria's 8 million Arabs have been only marginally affected by the rebellion one way or another" – With two million Algerians in regroupment camps, hundreds of thousands in concentration camps and prisons, more than 150,000 killed and 300,000 living as refugees in Tunisia and Morocco, there is not a single family to which his statement could apply.

Mr. Sherman contends that most Algerian Moslems would prefer to remain French. Not even the French Government would support Mr. Sherman in this respect. On the contrary, it is universally recognized that a free and honest implementation of self-determination in Algeria will give formal proof of this (if such is needed after the courageous actions of the Algerian people during seven years of war, and in the course of various manifestations which were a clear and open expression of Algeria support for the FLN). In the same way, the demonstrations by more than 30,000 Algerians living in Paris (October 17, 1961) clearly refute Mr. Sherman's claim that "rival nationalist groups, particularly the MNA . . . still has the support of a majority of Algerian workers in France."

While mouthing the slogans "liberty, equality and justice," Mr. Sherman is in fact calling for a continuation of the inequality based on colonial oppression, a rule of prejudice and discrimination which affected Jew and Arab alike in Algeria. The backers of the OAS are the very people who so recently supported the Vichy regime in France, and whose aim (to cite no less eminent a Frenchman than former Premier Mendes-France) is to establish fascism in France as well as to maintain colonialism in Algeria.

It is an insult to the readers of *The New Republic* and to the traditions of *The New Republic* itself to publish such a defense of fascism and colonialism.

A. Chanderli
Algerian Front of National Liberation

Canada and Schlesinger

Sirs:

In the note on "Canada and Cuba" (March 5) you assert "Arthur Schlesinger Jr. disappointed a great many Canadian intellectuals when he told a Vancouver audience that Canadian policy in Cuba is 'hampering the process of democratic reform in Latin America'." The obvious implication is that I have been conducting a lecture campaign in Canada against Canadian foreign policy.

The easily ascertainable facts are that I was interviewed in the Vancouver airport while en route from Punta del Este to Tokyo; that, when asked about the Punta del Este conference, I said that the United States view was that anything which helped Castro hampered the prospects of democratic reform in Latin America; and that, when asked about the Canadian policy of trade with Castro, I said that this was a matter for the Canadian government and Canadian people to decide.

Your note contends that these innocuous remarks caused a wave of resentment among Canadian intellectuals against United States self-righteousness. I prefer to believe that the conclusion of your editorial paragraph is as ill-informed and erroneous as the premise.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
Washington, D. C.

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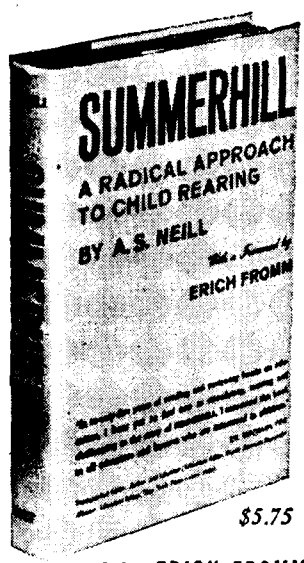

Foreword by **ERICH FROMM**

THE UNIQUE book described on this page may alter your entire life and affect forever the happiness of yourself and your children. When you read SUMMERHILL: *A Radical Approach to Child Rearing*, you may get the shock of your life — for this meaningful book will challenge your most cherished beliefs about how to bring up a child!

Here is the fascinating story of Summerhill, a school in England which has been in operation for forty years—perhaps the most revolutionary school in the world — *a school where children don't even attend classes unless they want to!* Yet this school produces youngsters whose academic achievement is high, and whose emotional stability is unparalleled!

A. S. Neill, Summerhill's headmaster, bluntly declares that most parents make a mess of the job of raising children. What's more, he says, our accepted ways of discipline — our traditional ideas about respect — our taken-for-granted notions about how to teach morals — are positively evil. As a result, we often produce children who are a trial to their parents, a trial to their teachers and even a trial to themselves—and who in later life throng the offices of psychiatrists.

Every parent knows the child who whines, who resentfully breaks things, who nags, who becomes painfully bored, and who has overpowering spells of unhappiness. As a parent, you are often at a loss to know whether you're too easy with your child or too hard. In despair, you wonder what is wrong with the way you handle him. Perhaps you seek counsel; but despite the talk, despite the worry, you seldom find the answer which yields an effective change.

A better way . . .

Is there a better way to rear and educate children? Yes, says Mr. Neill, the way it's done at Summerhill! Here is a school which turns out genuinely contented and productive youngsters. These boys and girls do *not* make the impossible demands on their parents that other children do. Brought up in an atmosphere of love and approval — without adult pressure — Summerhill's *self*-disciplined children grow up to be a joy to their parents and a *lasting* joy to themselves.

Don't misunderstand. Neill does not advocate that we permit our children to run all over us. He is positively wrathful against parents who permit children to rule the roost, to wantonly interrupt adult conversation, to stalk into the living room and turn on the television set regardless of whether that annoys others present. He doesn't believe that we should coddle our children so that they dominate their parents and others around them.

He is, however, a firm believer in freedom for the child — *freedom without license* — and makes no bones about the unconscious tyranny of parents, which most of us are woefully unaware of.

Summerhill's meaning for you . . .

This book may well make you angry, but it will also make you *think*. It will smash many of your established beliefs about child rearing, but it will replace them with positive, constructive ideas. SUMMERHILL will demand of you a searching re-examination of your role as parent, but it will reward you with new insights.

Above all, this penetrating book will help you forge enduring bonds of love between you and your child. Respect will follow — *real* respect — not veneer respect — not the obedience which comes from fear. SUMMERHILL will help you eliminate those harrowing parent-child conflicts, with all the heartaches they cause. And this great book will help you make your home a happy, serene place for raising children who will, one day, be truly free and mature adults.

Not in many years has any book won such enthusiastic acclaim from educators and professionals.

***Here is what some leading educators and authors say about* SUMMERHILL:**

BENJAMIN FINE *(Education Editor, North Amer. Newspaper Alliance; formerly Education Editor, The New York Times; Pulitzer Prize-winning author)*

"In 25 years of reading and reviewing books on education, I have yet to find one as stimulating, exciting and challenging as the story of SUMMERHILL. Every one of its pages is filled with delightful warmth and encouragement."

ASHLEY MONTAGU *(Anthropologist and Social Biologist; author and educator)*

"Anyone who is in any way concerned with the education of children should make this book required reading."

STUART CHASE *(Author of numerous books and articles on economic and social affairs)*

"The book will, I think, stir up an argument in any intelligent family interested in education, and I hope it is widely read."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *(Pastor Emeritus, Community Church of N.Y.; Chairman of the Board, American Civil Liberties Union)*

"His is a great experiment, and I believe in experiments."

DWIGHT MACDONALD *(Staff Editor for The New Yorker Magazine)*

"One reads it with the irritation, excitement, and finally sympathy, that any original idea always provokes. The trouble is that one can't help thinking that Mr. Neill is right."

HENRY MILLER *(Author of "Tropic of Cancer," "The Cosmological Eye," and numerous other books)*

"I know of no educator in the Western world who can compare with A. S. Neill. It seems to me that he stands alone. SUMMERHILL is a tiny ray of light in a world of darkness. Its aim is to create happy, contented people, not cultural misfits dedicated to war, insanity and canned knowledge."

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A. S. NEILL, ***headmaster of Summerhill, speaks on parents, children, and the education of both. Here are a few passages from the text of*** **SUMMERHILL:**

"If your child lies, either he is afraid of you or he is copying you. Lying parents will have lying children. If you want the truth from him, do not lie to him."

"A cynical or a spiteful parental tongue can do untold damage to a child. We all know fathers who sneer at their sons. *Butterfingers, you can't do a thing without bungling it.* Such men likewise show their hatred of their wives by constant criticism. And there are wives who rule husbands and children through brow-beating and streams of abuse."

"Girls who were spanked by their mothers grow into spankers themselves. An excellent illustration is the game in which children play school. Teacher whacks all the time."

"The future of Summerhill itself may be of little import. But the future of the Summerhill idea is of the greatest importance to humanity. New generations must be given the chance to grow in freedom. The bestowal of freedom is the bestowal of love. And only love can save the world."

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